

# THE RELATION OF THE ALABAMA- GEORGIA DIALECT TO THE PROVINCIAL DIALECTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

by

CLEANTH BROOKS, JR., B.A., B. LITT. (Oxon.)

*Assistant Professor of English Literature  
Louisiana State University*



*A Diamond Jubilee Publication*

*Study Number XX*

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
BATON ROUGE

1935

Copyright, 1935  
By  
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Composed, Printed and Bound by  
City College Press  
George Banta Publishing Company  
Menasha, Wisconsin

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY STUDIES

JAMES M. SMITH, PH.D.

PRESIDENT, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

*Edited By*

CHARLES W. PIPKIN, PH.D., LL.D

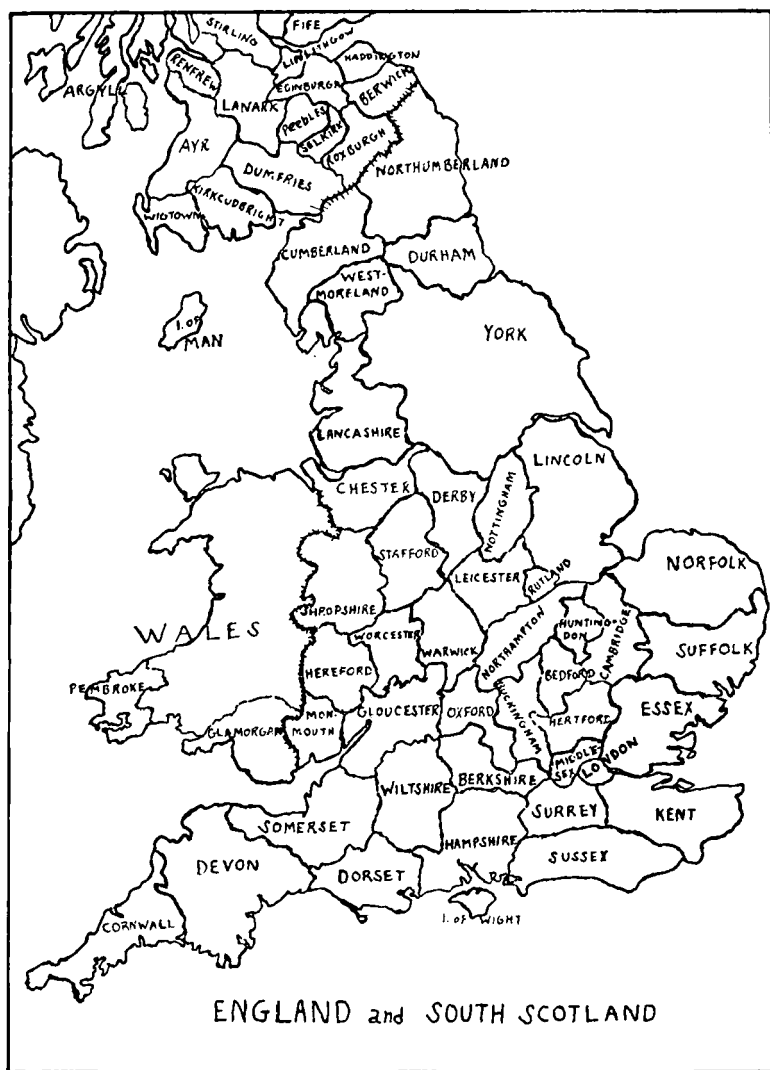
DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL AND PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE  
GOVERNMENT, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

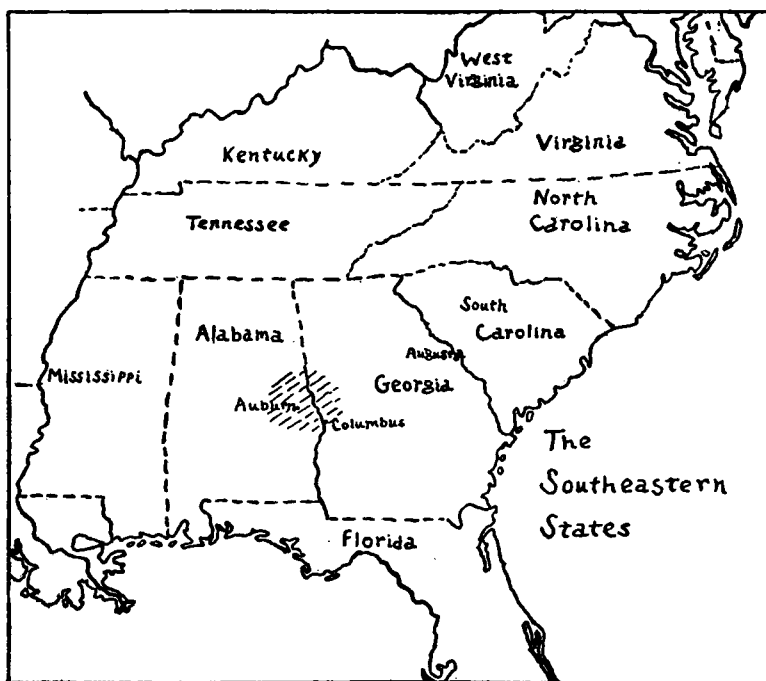
## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to thank Dr. James Monroe Smith, President of Louisiana State University, and Dr. Charles W. Pipkin, Dean of the Graduate School, for their courtesy in accepting this monograph for publication in the series of *University Studies*.

I owe a deep obligation to Dr. William A. Read, Professor of English Language and Literature in this University, whose wide knowledge and whose generosity in making that knowledge available to me, have contributed much of whatever value this study may possess. I wish also to thank Mrs. Nina Pirkle, Secretary of the Department of English, for her valuable suggestions and aid in arranging the manuscript.

C. B., JR.





THE SHADED PART OF THE MAP INDICATES THE DISTRICT IN WHICH THE ALABAMA-GEORGIA DIALECT IS SPOKEN.

## CONTENTS

Bibliography . . . . .	ix
List of Counties . . . . .	xi
Phonetic Symbols . . . . .	xii
Introduction . . . . .	1
The Vowels . . . . .	5
The Consonants . . . . .	40
Conclusion . . . . .	63
Appendix . . . . .	85
Index of Words . . . . .	90

## BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH ABBREVIATIONS

- ELLIS, A. J. *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V. "Existing Dialectal as Compared with West Saxon Pronunciation." EETS. London, 1889. . . . . Ellis
- EKWALL, EILERT. *Dr. Jones's Practical Phonography* (1701). Halle a. S., 1907. . . . .
- Historische neuenglische Laut- und Formenlehre* (Sammlung Göschen 735). Berlin and Leipzig, 1922. . . . . Formenlehre
- GREET, WILLIAM CABELL. "Southern Speech" in *Culture in the South*. ed. by W. T. Couch. University of North Carolina Press, 1934, pp. 594-615. . . . . Greet
- HARRIS, JOEL CHANDLER. *Uncle Remus*. New York: Appleton and Co., 1923. . . . . H
- Uncle Remus and his Friends*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co. No date. . . . . Hf
- HEIL, JOHANN ALFRED. *Die Volkssprache im Nordosten der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika dargestellt auf Grund der Biglow Papers von James Russell Lowell*. Breslau, 1927. . . . . Heil
- KJEDERQVIST, JOHN. *The Dialect of Pewsey*. London, 1903. . . . .
- . . . . . Kjederqvist
- KRAPP, GEORGE PHILIP. *The English Language in America*. New York, 1925. 2 vols. . . . . Krapp
- KRUISINGA, E. *A Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 18. Bonn, 1905. . . . . Kruisinga
- KURATH, HANS. "The Origin of the Dialectal Differences in Spoken American English." *Modern Philology*, XXV, pp. 385-395 . . . . . Kurath
- LUICK, KARL. *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1921. Vol. I. Parts 1 and 2. . . . . Luick
- MURRAY, SIR JAMES H. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford, 1888-1928. . . . . NED
- PAYNE, L. W. "A Word-list from East Alabama." *Dialect Notes*, III, pp. 279-328, 343-391. . . . . P
- PRIMER, SYLVESTER. "The Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, V, pp. 185-199. . . . .
- READ, WILLIAM A. "Some Phases of American Pronunciation," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXII, pp. 217-244 . . . . . Read



- SHEWMAKE, EDWIN FRANCIS. *English Pronunciation in Virginia*. University of Virginia Dissertation. 1927.....Shewmake
- SWEET, HENRY. *A History of English Sounds*. Oxford, 1888. Sweet
- URLAU, KURT. *Die Sprache des Dialektdichters William Barnes (Dorsetshire)*. Berlin, 1921.....Urlau
- WIEGERT, HANS. "Jim an' Nell" von W. T. Rock. *Eine Studie zum Dialekt von Devonshire*. (Palaestra 137). Berlin, 1921.. Wiegert
- WILSON, SIR JAMES. *The Dialect of the New Forest*. Publications of the Philological Society. IV. Oxford, 1914.....Wilson
- WRIGHT, JOSEPH. *English Dialect Grammar*. Oxford, 1905. . . . EDG  
*An Elementary Middle English Grammar*. Oxford, 1928. Second edition.....MEG  
*An Elementary Historical New English Grammar*. Oxford, 1924 . . . . . NEG
- WYLD, HENRY CECIL. *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. London, 1921. Second edition.....Wyld

Other works, occasionally referred to, are cited in their proper places in the text. The list of publications given above constitutes only a partial list of works actually consulted. Many of these, however, especially those which deal with negro speech, are repetitive, and others are for the purposes of this study of little value.

# LIST OF COUNTIES

Abd.	Aberdeen	Lin.	Lincoln
Ant.	Antrim	Lnk.	Lanark
Bck.	Buckinghamshire	Lnl.	Linlithgow
Bdf.	Bedford	Lon.	London
Brk.	Brecknock	Lth.	Lothian
Brks.	Berks	Mid.	Middlesex
Cai.	Caithness	Midl.	Midlands
Chs.	Cheshire	Mon.	Monmouth
Cmb.	Cambridge	Nhb.	Northumberland
Cor.	Cornwall	Nhp.	Northampton
Cum.	Cumberland	n.Ir.	North Ireland
Der.	Derby	Not.	Nottingham
Dev.	Devon	Nrf.	Norfolk
Dmf.	Dumfries	n.Yks.	N. Riding of York- shire
Dnb.	Denbigh	Or.I.	Orkney Isles
Dor.	Dorset	Oxf.	Oxford
Dub.	Dublin	Peb.	Peebles
Dur.	Durham	Pem.	Pembroke
Edb.	Edinburgh	Per.	Perth
Eng.	England	Rnf.	Renfrew
Ess.	Essex	Rut.	Rutland
e.Yks.	East Riding of York- shire	Sc.	Scotland
Fif.	Fife	Sh.I.	Shetland Isles
Frf.	Frofar	Shr.	Shropshire
Glo.	Gloucester	Som.	Somerset
Gmg.	Glamorgan	Stf.	Stafford
Hmp.	Hampshire	Suf.	Suffolk
Hnt.	Huntingdon	Sur.	Surrey
Hrf.	Hereford	Sus.	Sussex
Hrt.	Hertford	Uls.	Ulster
I.Ma.	Isle of Man	War.	Warwick
Inv.	Inverness	Wil.	Wiltshire
Ir., Irel.	Ireland	Wm.	Westmoreland
I.W.	Isle of Wight	Wor.	Worcester
Kcb.	Kirkcudbright	w.Yks.	West Riding of York- shire
Ken.	Kent	Yks.	Yorkshire
Lan.	Lancashire		
Lei.	Leicester		
		e.	east
		n.	north
		wm.	west middle, etc.

## PHONETIC SYMBOLS

[g] <i>go</i>	[m] <i>man</i>	[ʊ] <i>full</i>
[ʌ] <i>when</i>	[n] <i>night</i>	[ʌ] <i>tun</i>
[s] <i>say</i>	[k] <i>call</i>	[ɜɪ] <i>bird</i>
[z] <i>zeal</i>	[f] <i>fair</i>	[ə] <i>sofa</i>
[ʃ] <i>shun</i>	[v] <i>vine</i>	[oɪ] <i>low</i>
[ʒ] <i>pleasure</i>	[w] <i>wall</i>	[aʊ] <i>cow</i>
[θ] <i>think</i>	[h] <i>hill</i>	[aɪ] <i>lie</i>
[ð] <i>those</i>	[l] <i>let</i>	[ɔɪ] <i>oil</i>
[j] <i>yes</i>	[ɑɪ] <i>father</i>	[ɑ] <i>hot</i> (American pronunciation.)
[ŋ] <i>sing</i>	[ɛ] <i>bet</i>	The short of [ɑɪ]
[r] <i>red</i>	[æ] <i>hat</i>	[ɒ] <i>hot</i> (British pronunciation.)
[tʃ] <i>chop</i>	[eɪ] <i>pray</i>	
[dʒ] <i>just</i>	[ɪ] <i>pit</i>	[ɛ] <i>prayer</i> (British pronunciation.)
[b] <i>bear</i>	[ɪ] <i>pity</i>	The è in French <i>père</i> .)
[p] <i>put</i>	[iɪ] <i>see</i>	[æɪ] <i>there</i> (Southern U. S. pronunciation.)
[t] <i>top</i>	[ɔɪ] <i>saw</i>	
[d] <i>doll</i>	[uɪ] <i>soon</i>	> develops to.
		< develops from.
		ː indicates lengthening.

THE RELATION OF THE ALABAMA-GEORGIA  
DIALECT TO THE PROVINCIAL DIALECTS  
OF GREAT BRITAIN

"It is abundantly clear that many local dialectal differences are traceable directly to local dialectal differences in England which were transferred from England to America," states George Phillip Krapp in his *English Language in America*, I, p. 53. A detailed examination of the evidence will show that Krapp has not been too emphatic. But even before one examines the evidence, a moment's reflection on the speech conditions in England at the time of the emigration to America will show that it is strongly probable that provincial speech habits were transferred from Great Britain to America.

Aubrey has told us that Sir Walter Raleigh spoke "broad Devon" to his dying day. This was obviously not altogether usual to have merited mention. At the same time it has some significance. If Raleigh, a well-educated man, a great nobleman and a court favorite, retained so much of the provincial coloring of his native county, even at court, what must have been true of the small farmer, the indentured servant, and the shop-keeper in the provincial town, so many of whom made up the body of the seventeenth century immigrants to America?

It will not be difficult to adduce much stronger evidence of the persistence of dialectal coloring in even educated speech during this period. For example, Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poetry* (1589) states that Southern English is the standard language, particularly that of "London and the shires lying about London within LX myles, and not much above."<sup>1</sup> He goes on to say: "I say not this but that in every shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake *but specially write* [*italics mine*] as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend."<sup>2</sup> As Ekwall says, in commenting on this passage, "Here we have an unequivocal statement to the effect that even people of social standing, in the latter part of the 16th cent., were largely influenced by their native dialects." (p. XXXIV.)

<sup>1</sup> Smith, Gregory: *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. Oxford, 1924. 2 vols. II, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 150.

Ekwall also cites the following passages from John Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*: "The Western people cannot open their mouthes to speak *ore rotundo*. Wee pronounce *paal* [Ekwall believes *Paul* or *pall* intended], *pale*, &c., and especially in Devonshire. The Exeter Coll. men in disputations, when they allege *Causa Causae est Causa Causati*, they pronounce it, *Caza*, *Cazae est Caza Cazati* very un-gracefully.' This passage tells us that even the students in Oxford about the middle of the seventeenth century or later retained their provincial habits of speech." (p. XXXV.) Exeter College was from the first a West Country college, and its affiliations, particularly with Cornwall and Devonshire, must have been still very close in the seventeenth century.

Ekwall points out that Jones himself in his work on spelling and pronunciation (1701) has been influenced by provincialisms. (p. XXXIX ff.) And coming down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, one remembers the remark which Boswell heard Dr. Johnson make: "Sir, when people watch me narrowly, and I do not watch myself, they will find me out to be of a particular county. In the same manner, Dunning may be found out to be a Devonshire man." Dunning was a celebrated lawyer of the time, and one of the later members of The Club.

One may summarize such evidence by quoting Wright's statement: "In the earlier NE. period there was no such thing as a standard pronunciation in the precise sense that we now apply that term to the pronunciation of the educated and careful speakers of the present day. There was, of course, a kind of standard pronunciation, but it was far from being sharply defined; in fact there was a considerable local coloring in the pronunciation of the educated classes, just as local coloring exists to some extent in what is called the standard pronunciation of our own time." (NEG, pp. 3-4.)

Provincialisms must have been transferred from Great Britain to America during the time of the settlement of America by British colonists. The only questions to be raised are the following: (1) how many of these provincialisms have persisted?; and (2) have the provincial dialects become hopelessly mixed, or is it possible to distinguish particular areas in Great Britain from which American dialects are derived?

Krapp, in his study, has already traced many American variants to sources in the British dialects. For example: "The pronuncia-

tions [kræp], [dræp] are also recorded as dialectal survivals in southwestern England . . . and the American and British dialect forms probably go back to the same source." (II, p. 142.)

"It is a very plausible inference, therefore, that the pronunciation [of *going* as gwain] was brought over to America as one of those numerous features of early American pronunciation that can be traced to southern British origin." (II, p. 200.) (As a matter of fact this pronunciation is rather specifically southwestern, for Sussex is the only county to the east of Hampshire which gives it, according to the EDG.)

The pronunciation of *exchange* as [ekstʃændʒ] Krapp holds is "doubtless one of a number of survivals from southwestern British dialect in these early American documents." (II, p. 121.)

Krapp is convinced, therefore, that many American pronunciations are to be traced to the British dialects, but he often fails to take the dialects into account in discussing American forms: for example, see his explanation of *tassel* as [tɔɪsl], (II, pp. 85-6), or his explanation of *rinse* as [rentʃ], (II, p. 119). Moreover, he attempts no systematic analysis of the relative importance of the English dialect groups in influencing American pronunciation beyond stating that the early New Englanders came largely from the south and east parts of England, and quoting with approval Orbeck's conclusion that "we are to look for the roots of Eastern Massachusetts speech in the eastern dialects of England." (I, p. 57.)

In a more recent study, *Die Volkssprache im Nordosten der Vereinigten Staaten von America dargestellt auf Grund der Biglow Papers von James Russell Lowell*, (p. 310), Johann Heil comes to the same conclusion: that the English dialectal areas most important in exerting an influence on the speech of the northeast are the dialects of East Anglia and the South.

The conclusions arrived at in this study will be related to those of Krapp and Heil in a later section of this study. Before we begin our examination of the dialect of Alabama-Georgia, however, it will be necessary to mention briefly one other point: the historical evidence—or the lack of it—which relates to the counties in England from which the predominant part of the settlers of the Southern states came.

Krapp states that "all American dialects are so mixed that a parallelism between any single British dialect and any single Amer-

ican dialect becomes impossible" (I, p. 53); a little further on, "English and American dialects have always been so mixed that they can be used as circumstantial evidence, often in a strikingly confirmatory way, but with little or no independent value (I, p. 55)." The warning is quite in order and is to be heeded. Certainly the dialects of New England seem mixed, but it is possible that some dialects are relatively unmixed. Certainly they cannot be proved to be mixed before a detailed investigation has been undertaken. Moreover, it is not always possible to base such a study on ethnology, as Krapp counsels. The present study is a case in point.

One may here, however, review briefly what evidence there is on the counties of origin of the early settlers of the South. *The Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (edited by Charles O. Paullin, 1932) indicates the county of origin of 637 settlers of Virginia between 1607 and 1700. But since Virginia had 100,000 settlers by 1700, the percentage traced is obviously rather small to base generalizations on.\* Moreover, the editor states that "Only for New England and Virginia was the available information on the origin of emigrants sufficient to give satisfactory results." (p. 47.)

Obviously, we shall be able to avail ourselves of very little aid from the historian with regard to the counties of England from which the settlers of the Alabama-Georgia area derived. Whether the conclusions arrived at in this study are strong enough to warrant acceptance, or even tentative acceptance, without the confirmation of the historian, must be left for the reader to decide.

The dialect to be examined is that of west central Georgia and of east central Alabama. The word-list used in this study is based largely on the negro dialect as it is transcribed by Joel Chandler Harris in his Uncle Remus stories, and on L. W. Payne's "A Word List from East Alabama."<sup>1</sup> Payne states that the exact locality represented by this word-list "falls in east Alabama and west Georgia, centering around the town of Auburn in Lee county, Alabama, and extending south to include Macon and Russell counties,

\* The figures for the more important counties may be given here: London, 179 (28%); the southwest, Glo. Hmp. Dor. Cor. Dev. Som. Wil., 120 (18%); the south, Ken. Sus. Bks., 64 (9%); the east Ess. Nrf. Suf. Cmb., 54 (8%). The 43% remaining come for the most part from the midlands, particularly the southern midlands. After London itself, Gloucester is highest with 43, and Kent next with 42.

<sup>1</sup> *Dialect Notes*, III, pp. 278-328, 342-391.

west to include Tallapoosa county, north to include Chambers and a small part of Randolph, and east to include the counties of Troupe, Harris, and Muscogee in Georgia."

Payne's list gives white usage unless otherwise indicated. The dialect of both white and negro, as will later appear, is substantially the same. Comparison of the variants given by Harris and Payne is necessary, however, to prove that this is so. Furthermore, such a comparison is valuable for checking the two transcriptions, particularly Harris's. Absence from Payne's list of forms given by Harris, though it does not necessarily discredit, does throw suspicion on such forms, and may help us to eliminate spurious variants. Harris will be found, however, to be a very accurate dialect writer.

Many of the variants treated in this study occur over large areas of the South, and of course even over other parts of the United States. It is deemed advisable here, however, to locate this dialect as precisely as possible, leaving its relation to other dialects of the South to be treated in later studies.

I have omitted from consideration, of course, malapropisms, and forms resulting from confusion with other words or analogy. Nearly all doubtful cases have been treated, however. I have also omitted from consideration most dialectal preterite forms, for analogy here is so frequently at work that the value of such forms as evidence for the influence of the British provincial dialects is seriously invalidated.

Whereas the list of variants which follows does not claim to be exhaustive, it seems thoroughly representative of the dialect in question, and it includes nearly all the variants which Payne certifies as used by either whites or negroes.

## THE VOWELS

### 1. [ɛ] for [æ]

CATCH	ketch	H 4 P 281	[kɛʃ]	*se. Lan. s.Chs. Stf. n.Shr. Oxf. Lon. se.Kent. Sus. w.Som. nw.Dev.
RADISH	redish	P 363	[rɛdɪʃ]	[ɛ] in ne.Sc. Ant. Nhbb. Dur. sw.Yks. n.Lan. em.Lan. sm.- se.sw.s.Lan. I.Ma. Stf. Der. Lin. Lei. w.War. n.Shr. Glo. Nrf. Suf. Sus. w.Wil.

\* All citations in this column are from the EDG unless otherwise specified.



GATHER	gedder	H 33	[gedə]	[e] in s.Nhb. Dur. Yks. Lan. Chs. Stf. Not. Lin. Lei. Shr. Glo. Oxf. Nrf. se.Ken. me.Wil. w.Som. nw.Dev.
	geðə	P 281	[geðə]	

These variants may be due to the earlier standard language. "Walker, p. 12, speaks of 'a corrupt but received pronunciation' of *a* as [e]\* in *any, many, catch, Thames*, a remark which shows that in 1791, [ketʃ] still moved in good company." (Krapp, II, p. 93.)

"Nares, *General Rules* (1792), (p. 10), gives *catch, gather, January, jasmin, many, radish, thank* as all having [e] for *a*, and remarks that of these *gather* and *thank* with [e] are confined to familiar use." (Krapp, II, p. 93.)

## 2. [ɪ] for [æ]

CAN	kin	H 5	[kɪn]	Ayr. n.e.Nrf. nw.e.Dev.
		P 296		
SHALL	shill	H 181	[ʃɪl]	se.Cor.
		not listed by P		

Krapp's only comment is that "The preterite *kim* [used for *come*] is probably a phonetic variant like the popular pronunciation of *can* as [kɪn]." (II, p. 260.) Incidentally, as regards *come*, Wright records the pronunciation [kɪm] in Essex. In view of what is known of heavy immigration into New England from the eastern counties, it seems likely that we have here the source of the word.

## 3. [eɪ] for [æ]

SCARCE	skase	H 12	[skeɪs]	Vowel not treated by Wright. Wiegert gives [skäs] for Devon. 257. His [ä]=a tense mid front slightly lowered vowel.
	skêś	P 366		

The NED gives several sixteenth-century forms from which the above pronunciation might have descended: fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *scace*, sixteenth (*scas(e)*, *skace*, *skase*. If we can presume lengthening after early loss of *r*, the *a* indicated would point to a pronunciation with [eɪ] in the sixteenth century. Since *r* seems first to have been lost before *s* in the south of England (NEG 189), it is possible that the pronunciation might obtain in this section of England at the time of the first settlement of America. Such a form

\* Krapp's symbol for [e] is [ɛ].

(if it did obtain) must have been provincial, for the NED gives no forms in the seventeenth century pointing to such a pronunciation.

Krapp points out that "the early grammarians [American] frequently reprehend *skase* for *scarce*." (II, p. 220.)

#### 4. [ɔɪ] for [æ]

TASSEL	tɔsl	P 281	[tɔɪsl]	Not given in Wright's Index. w.Som. Kruisinga, Sec. 207.
TRAMPLE	trompl tromp	H 21 P 281	[trɔɪmp]	Not given in Wright's Index.
CHAMPING	chompin	H 27 P 281	[tʃɔɪmpɪn]	Not given in Wright's Index.
STAMP	stomp	P 281	[stɔɪmp]	se.Lan. I.Ma. Stf. ne.Der. Glo. Oxf. Sus.

The NED records a form *chaump* in the sixteenth century, and "dial." *chomp* in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

Krapp explains [ɔɪ] forms of *tramp* and *stamp* as follows: "The [ɔ] was first unrounded to [a], and this sound in the closed syllable then fronted to [æ]. The process is illustrated by the word *strop*, still current, especially in the compound *razor-strop*, as a variant of *strap*, and by the words *stomp*, *tromp*, dialect variants of the verbs *stamp*, *tramp*." (II, p. 143.) Now the explanation holds for *strop*, for *strop* is the original form. See, for example, NEG 66, note. But in the case of *tramp* and *stamp* the unrounded forms are apparently the earlier. The NED gives no forms of *tramp* which would indicate rounding; and its first form of *stamp* is *stampe* (thirteenth century). It does give *staumpe* (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) which would give rise to [ɔɪ] forms, though these [ɔɪ] forms never seemed to have occurred in the standard language of the seventeenth century.

#### 5. [a], [aɪ] for [æ]

MAN	mon	H 12 P not listed	[man]	For this interpretation of Harris's transcription, see 27.
FLAPPING	floppin'	H 33 P not listed	[flapɪn]	
STRAP	strop	H 137 P not listed	[strap]	
MATTER	matter	H f 7 P not listed	[mætə]	
	marters	H 103 P not listed	[mɑtə]	

TOBACCO	terbarker	H 52	[təbɑ:kə]
		P not listed	
MUSTASHE	mustarsh	H 27	[məstɑ:ʃ]
		P not listed	
MASTER	marster	H 186	[ma:stə]
		"applied by elderly ne- groes," P 348	
AFTER	atter	H 5	[ætə]
	arter	H 4	[ɑ:tə]
		P 282, "pronounced ætə or ɑtə"	
STAB	stob	P 376	[stab]
WRAP	wrop	P 390	[rap]
JAB	job	P 325	[dʒab]

The difference between the negro and the white dialect, though marked here, is not absolute. It will be observed that Harris's double transcriptions of *matter* and *after* perhaps point to fluctuation in negro speech, and that Payne likewise gives a double transcription of *after*. Moreover, Payne's statement that [ma:stə] is "applied by elderly negroes" is significant. Obviously here we are dealing with a pronunciation which is dying out and which the negro has kept largely because of his more conservative speech habits. Furthermore, we must not forget that Harris, like most dialect writers, is prone to exaggerate dialect features.\* There is a further reason for the use of [ɑ:] for [æ] in negro speech. The forms given above were probably developed under the law of analogy—which for obvious reasons operated more freely with the negro. We must remember that conditions in eighteenth century America were ideal for the operation of analogy in this group of words. In all of these words the vowel was [æ] or [æ:] in the standard language of the seventeenth century. "The æ from older a . . . [was] lengthened in the seventeenth century to æ̃ (later ā) . . . before voiceless spirants (f, s, þ), and voiceless spirants followed by another consonant, but in the present standard pronunciation there is considerable fluctuation between ā and æ . . . in many of the words belonging to this category. . . . The æ . . . was lengthened to æ̃ in

\* Furthermore, "Uncle Remus" himself may betray Virginia influence. He is made to say in one place that he came from "Ferginny." The older negroes on whom Harris based the character very probably came from this state.

the seventeenth century, and then the æ became ā in the latter part of the eighteenth century." (NEG 93.)

With all the words listed above pronounced [æ] and [æɪ], and the later immigrants or the influence of the literary language imposing [aɪ] in some of the words, the [aɪ] was often introduced in words not justified by British usage. [strap] for *strap* may, however, be due to an older form *strop*. (See NEG, 66, note.)

That the variants in question (with the exceptions of *master* and *after*) are the result of analogical development is borne out by the occurrence of similar forms in New England and the East:

"The fact, on the other hand, of the tendency for [aɪ] to run into a broad popular pronunciation, at least in New England, is also indicated in several ways. For one, it is in point to note that [aɪ] was extended in New England to words of rustic speech outside the groups in which [aɪ] occurred in cultivated speech. Thus Lowell, in the Introduction to the *Biglow Papers* (1848), says that the 'genuine Yankee' gives to a in *handsome* the broad sound it has in *father*. Holmes in the *Autocrat*, a collection of essays first published in the form of a volume in 1858, groups *sahtisfahction*, *sahtisfahctory*, a *prahctical mahn*, with other reprehended examples in broad New England speech. One may still hear, says Grandgent, p. 215, writing in 1899, from elderly New England rustics, ['apl], ['hamə], ['matə], ['pantri], ['satdi], for *apple*, *hammer*, *matter*, *pantry*, *Saturday*. The prevalence of [aɪ] Grandgent thinks was at its height between 1830 and 1850." (Krapp, II, p. 73.)

Here it will be necessary to enter into a criticism of some of Krapp's pronouncements on the subject of the sound [aɪ] in America.

Most authorities agree that [æ] lengthened before [r], [f], [s], and [θ], became [aɪ] in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (NEG, 108, 93.) Ekwall, *Formenlehre*, 43. Krapp, on the evidence of early American spellings, attempts to push back the date for the appearance of [aɪ]. He says: "How far back this sound recorded by Perry should be carried, it is uncertain; but the spelling *arst* for *asked*, in *Groton Records*, p. 130 (1706), seems to be pretty certain evidence of its existence in dialect speech in Massachusetts as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Still earlier is the spelling *pausters* for *pastures*, in the *Hempstead Records*, I, 93 (1660). With this spelling should be compared the pronunciation recorded by R. M. Johnston, *Mr. Absolom Billingslea* (1888), p. 21,

for central Georgia. The word is spelled *parscher* and as [aɪ] is unknown ordinarily in this dialect for a before [f], [s], [θ], etc., it is extremely likely that we have in *parscher* a stray survival from an older use generally lost in the Georgia dialect. The spelling *parscher* would be similar to such spellings as *darter* for *daughter*, *arfter* for *after*, *marster* for *master*, etc., which are occasionally met with in literary transcriptions of popular dialects, and which leave one in some doubt so far as the presence of the r is concerned, as to their meaning. But if one does not quite know whether or not to take the r in these spellings at its face value, one can at least be sure that the quality of the vowel must be taken as [aɪ], not as [æ], or [ɔɪ]. The spelling of *pastures* as *pausters* might possibly be taken as meaning [pɔɪstərz], but that is not probable. It should be observed that if a writer wished to indicate a sound [aɪ] as distinguished from the more common [æɪ], [æ], the natural spelling to use would be *au*, since for the sound [ɔɪ] the spelling *o* would be available." (II, pp. 55-56.)

It is always difficult to draw conclusions from careless spellings. Here the evidence is especially untrustworthy. For example, *arst* for *asked* may indicate no more than an early loss of r. And in this case we are allowed to draw no conclusions about the vowel, for in careless spellings the logic of the writer is likely to be what Krapp has already described in an earlier passage of his own work: "In the *Hempstead Records* for 1659 one finds *how ceeper* and *cow ceeper*, and in 1664, *cep* and *sep* for *keep*. The spellings here mean nothing for pronunciation, though their logic is perfect. If *c* can have the value of *k* in *cow*, and if *c* can have the value of *s* in a word like *receive*, then *s* can have the value of *k* in *keep*." (I, p. x.)

As for the spelling *pausters*, whereas [ɔɪ] may not be meant, [aɪ] is not the only alternative. The writer may mean no more than [æ] or [æɪ]. (See 31.) If *saucy*, and *haunt*, could be pronounced [sæɪ] and [hænt] as Krapp testifies they often were in New England, why could not [pæstəz] be written *pausters*? Johnston's spelling *parscher* undoubtedly indicates [aɪ], but Johnston's spelling is a rough attempt at a phonetic spelling, and of course is late (1888). Whereas [aɪ] is "unknown ordinarily in this dialect before [f], [s], [θ], etc.," note the variants cited above in this section. If they are the result of an analogical development, Johnston's form also may be due to later influences.

Krapp continues the passage: "It is not improbable therefore

that other seventeenth-century spellings with *au* indicate [aɪ], as in *caulfes* for *calf's*, *Southold Records*, I, 15 (1652), *caulves* for *calves*, I, 248 (1661), *Auter* for *Arthur*, I, 276 (1678), *drauft* for *draft draught*, II, 481 (1719); in the *Hempstead Records*, besides *pausters* noted above, occur *caulfes*, I, 93 (1660), *haulf* for *half*, I, 102 (1661)." (II, p. 56.)

The *au* in these words may mean [ɔɪ], however; or again it may mean [æ] as we have noted above. The latter seems the more probable supposition when we come to Krapp's next statement.

"On the other hand the presence at the same time of the [æ] pronunciation in this Long Island community is evident from such spellings as *feather* for *father*, *Hempstead Records*, I, 171 (1665), also *ffeather*, I, 202 (1665), *peath* for *path*, I, 198 (1679), *eare* for *are*, I, 164 (1665), *piert* for *part*, I, 34 (1660). The quality of this sound is indicated by the spellings *pearsens* for *persons*, I, 204 (1665)." (II, p. 56.)

Krapp concludes: "The presence of forms like *marse* [maɪs], *marster* [maɪstə] in old-fashioned Southern negro speech justifies certain chronological inferences. Since *a* is not ordinarily [aɪ] before *s* or *s* and a consonant in Southern speech, a word like *marse*, *marster* seems best explained as an archaic survival in negro speech of a pronunciation of this word which was formerly general and probably as early as the seventeenth or early eighteenth century." (II, p. 56.)

The inferences are hardly justified: the evidence which Krapp submits does not prove [aɪ] forms earlier than the late eighteenth century, the approximate date at which the change from [æɪ] to [aɪ] occurred in standard English. Moreover, the fact (1) that we know that [æ] forms occurred in this class of words both in the South and in New England at the time of the emigration to America, (2) that [æ] forms predominate to the present day, (3) that [aɪ] has been wrongly introduced into words like *handsome* and *tobacco* both in New England and in the South, and (4) that fluctuation between [æ] and [aɪ] forms still occurs in some words in the Alabama-Georgia dialect, makes much more probable the explanation submitted above: that the [aɪ] forms came in through the influence of later immigrants or literary influence, and that such forms as [maɪtə] and [pantrɪ] are analogical formations.

Krapp has not mentioned here Jespersen's theory as to the origin of [aɪ] forms. I do not propose to take up here Jespersen's theory or

the attacks upon it which have been made by various scholars. It is necessary, however, to mention the light which the American dialects throw on it. Dr. W. A. Read has stated: "If we accept Jespersen's view, how are we to account for the American æ? Some Americans, it is true, pronounce an a: or a: in the *path-staff*-last-group of words; but this a: (or a:) is neither extended in use nor so old as the American æ, not indeed having been recognized by Webster until 1806; and it owes its existence chiefly to the artificial influences of schools and dictionaries. We must therefore conclude that the sound of the vowel in the usual American pronunciation of *last*, *path*, *staff*, etc., is altogether at variance with the theory which finds in the current London a: nothing but a survival of an a: of the sixteenth century. He who accepts Jespersen's theory will certainly be confronted by the difficulty of explaining the origin of the American æ." (*Opus cit.*, p. 218.)

It is fair to say that Krapp has submitted no evidence which weakens Read's objection. His spellings from early records *may* indicate a seventeenth century [a:], but the case is far from proved, and in view of all the evidence, it seems much more probable that they do not.

## 6. [æ] for [a:]

PALM	pa'm	H 126	[pæm]	Not in Wright's Index. [ɛæ] in w.Som. Kruisinga 201. [pæm] Wil. Kjerqvist, 62, 2, b.
CALM	ca'm	H f 262 P not listed	[kæm]	Not in Wright's Index.
PSALM	sæm	P 281	[sæm]	Not in Wright's Index.
BALM	bæm	P 281	[bæm]	[be'm] w.Som.

According to Luick the vowel in these words in the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth was [æ:]. Our variants in this view, therefore, represent earlier standard. "Vor Labialen, also in der mittelenglischen Lautfolge *al*+Labial . . . zeigen sich Spuren eines [æ] schon in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrh.; gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts wird es allgemein. So in *half*, *calf*, *salve*, *halve*, *calve*, *alms*, *psalm*, *calm*, *balm*, *palm*, *almond*, *alm(o)ner* (in letzterem neben der Schriftausssprache *ælm*-)." (Sec. 521, 1.)

Ekwall, on the other hand, holds that the vowel through the seventeenth century was [ɔ:]. "Noch Wallis 1653 umschreibt *half*, *calm*, u.dgl. mit *hauf*, *caum* und es gibt noch spätere Zeugnisse für [ɔ:]. Sheridan 1780 erwähnt [ɔ:] in *calm*, *psalm* u.dgl. als irische

Eigentümlichkeit." Sec. 44. Ekwall accounts for the presence of the modern vowel as follows: "Das [ɪ] fiel in 16. Jahrh. ab . . . und [aʊ] kam vor den Labial zu stehen. Es liegt nahe, das [aɪ] in diesen Wörtern mit me. *ā* aus au in *safe* (frz. *sauf*) u.dgl. . . . zu vergleichen. In diesem Falle wäre [aɪ] durch Abfall des zweiten Elementes des Diphthongs zu erklären. Da der Monophthong von *a* in *hate* verschieden blieb, muss dieser Abfall erst nach der Palatalisierung, des me. *a* stattgefunden haben. Auch muss die Monophthongierung vor dem Übergang von [au] zu [ɔɪ] erfolgt sein. Da der neue Laut erst nach 1650 in der Gemeinsprache bezeugt ist, so muss eine (mundartliche?) Parallelentwicklung vorliegen, die die regelrechte verdrängt hat. Die Monophthongierung hat wohl zuerst [aɪ] ergeben, woraus durch Palatalisierung [æɪ] entstand." (Sec. 44.)

If the unrounded forms are the result of dialectal influence, it is natural to look to the dialects which were first to unround au and o—the dialects of the south and southwest. See 27, 28, 30, and 31, below.

## 7. [eɪ] for [e]

EGG	aig	H 175 P 285	[eɪg]	Abd. w.Frf. e.Per. Bck. w.Som. sw. Dev. [eɪ] in e.Suf. se.Ken.
EDGE	aidge	H 128	[eɪdʒ]	Abd. w.Frf. e.Per. wm.Sc. Ayr. me.Wil. e.Dev. Also Hmp. Wilson, p. 17. Also Wil. Kjederqvist, 71, 3, a.
LEG	lêg	P 281 "chiefly a negroism"	[leɪg]	w.Frf. e.Per. e.Suf. Also Hmp. Wilson, p. 17.

Krapp records the occurrence of such forms in early New England speech.

## 8. [æ] for [e]

WRESTLE	rastle	H 32 P not listed	[ræsl]	se.Ken. Sus. Dor. e.sw.Dev. [æ] in me.Wil. w.Som.
WELL	wæl	P 387	[wæɪ]	w.Dor. Nrf. se.Ken. [aɪ] Hmp. Wilson, p. 17, may point to earlier [æ].
KEG	kæg	P 281	[kæg]	Not in Wright's Index. [kæg] Dor. Urlau.



YES	yasser	H 151 P 390: "The vowel is some- times a but more fre- quently æ."	[jæs]	w.Som. [ja:s] in e.Sus. s.Dev. may point back to earlier [jæ:s]. So also [ja:s], Hmp. Wilson, p. 17.
YELLOW	yaller yaller	H 153 P 390	[jælə]	Brks. Hrt. Nrf. se.Ken. Sus. s.Som. e.Dev. w.Corn.

Some of the variants here given were probably to be found in the standard English of the eighteenth century. With regard to *yellow*, see also Kruisinga, Additions to Sec. 406, "G. Russel gives *yaller* as the polite 18th century pronunciation of *yellow*." The NED gives a-forms of *keg* into the eighteenth century.

Changes of this sort are very frequent in early New England speech. The NED points out that [jɜ:s] was the standard pronunciation of *yes* in the eighteenth century. The fact that our dialect gives [jæs] is another proof that a recourse to earlier standard is not enough to find the sources of the American variants. Krapp ends his treatment of this change with: "Kruisinga, *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, §151, gives numerous examples of this interchange of [ɛ] and [æ] in the dialect of West Somerset." (II, 96.) He might have gone on to point out that this interchange is not limited to West Somerset. Wright says that "Apart from the influence of neighbouring sounds, the normal development of OE. e in originally closed syllables is æ in s.Sc. se.Ken. e.&sw.Cy. plus e." (EDG 51.)

## 9. [ɪ] for [ɛ]

YET	yit yit	H 130 P 391	[jɪt]	Sh.I. sn.Sc. Kcb. Ant. Nhb. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. I.Ma. Stf. Der. Lin. Lei. Nhp. War. Shr. Oxf. Bck. Bdf. Hnt. Nrf. Suf. Ess. se.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. n.sw.Dev. [ɪ] in se.Wor. m.Shr. Glo. Brks. Hmp. I.W. w.Wil. e.w.Som.
GET	git git	H 5 P 281	[gɪt]	Ayr. Uls. Nhb. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. Lin. Lei. Wor. Bck. Bdf. Nrf. Suf. Ken. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. e.Som. w.Som. Dev. w.Cor. [gɪt] Dor. Urlau.

KETTLE	kittle kittl	H 66 P 281	[kɪdl]	[kɪdl] s.Sur. w.Sus. Wil. e.Dor. Som. e.Dev. [ɪ] Yks. Lei. War. Wor. Hrf. Pem. Glo. Brks. Bck. Bdf. Hrt. Lon. Nrf. Suf. Ess. e.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. an- Hmp. I.W. Wil. n.nw.Dev.
CHEST	chist	H 51 P 298	[tʃɪst] [tʃɪs]	[ɪ] Ant. Nhb. Dur. Lan. Der. Lin. Lei. Suf. nw.Dev. w.Som. e.Dev. I.Ma.
YESTER- DAY	yistiddy yistiddy	H 4 P 391	[jɪstɪdɪ]	[jɪs] in first syllable: ne.Nrf. sw.Lan. Der. Bck. n.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. Dur. s.Chs. s.Stf. n.Lin. Lei. Glo. e.Suf. s.Nhb. m.Cum. w.Wm. Yks. nw.Lan. w.Frf. e.Per. Kcb. I.Ma.
(BED)STEAD	bedstid	P 281	[stɪd]	Nhb. Dur. Wm. Chs. Stf.
STEADY	stiddi	P 281: "some- times studdy."	[stɪdɪ] [stɪdɪ]	Sus. Kruisinga gives [stɪdɪ], [stɪdɪ] for w.Som. [stɪdɪ] Dev. Wiegert 193. bed[stɪd] Wil. Kjederqvist, 82.

Some of these forms were good eighteenth century English. (See Krapp, II, p. 101.) See also Ekwall, *Formenlehre*, Sec. 66. "yes, yesterday yet (oft mit i noch im 18. Jahrh.)" Their presence in America cannot, therefore, necessarily be credited to the influence of the dialects. It is most interesting to note that Kruisinga gives for w.Som. two forms of *steady* almost like the *two* forms which Payne gives.

## 10. [ɪ] for [e]

WATER- MELON	water- million	H 250 P 349: "Milon is frequently heard among all classes." million "A negroism."	[mɪljən]	Not in Wright's Index.
-----------------	-------------------	---	----------	------------------------

[ɪ] forms of *melon* were common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (See NED.) Moreover, in these centuries *millian*, *myl-yon* also occur. [mɪljən] occurred in the early speech of New England and Philadelphia. (Krapp, II, 100.)

## 11. [i:] for [ɛ]

DEAF	de'f	H 97	[dif]	[i:] in wm.sm.Sc. Lth. Peb.
	dif	P 281		Nhb. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks.
				Stf. Der. Rut. Lei. Nhp. Shr.
				Gmg. s.Pem. Glo. ne.Cmb.
				ne.Nrf. Ess. e.Dor. Som.
				sw.Dev. e.Cor.

The NED states that "in standard Eng. the vowel was long until the modern period, and so late as 1717-8 it was rimed with *relief* by Prior and Watts."

## 12. [i:] for [ɛ]

END	een'	H 89	[in]	nw.Dev. Kruisinga gives
				w.Som.
	eend	H 63	[ind]	Lan. Der. Bdf. Ess. n.e.Ken.
		P not listed		

The NED records a form *eend* for the seventeenth century, but which it characterizes as dialectal. The variant seems to have been very common in New England at an earlier period. (Krapp, II, 103.)

## 13. [ʌ] for [ɛ]

SLEDGE-	sludge-	H 147	[slʌdʒ]	None.
HAMMER	hammer	P not listed		

## 14. [ɑ] for [ɛ]

SENT	sont	H 168	[sant]	None.
		P 373:		
		sont "pret.		
		and pp. of		
		<i>send</i> ."		

The o of the transcription indicates [ɑ]. (See 27.) It is difficult to account for [sant]. The NED records a form *sont* which it dates about 1500. The form occurs in one of the MSS. of the prose chronicle which continues the *Brut*, but since the variant is not recorded in the EETS edition of this work, and since no more particular reference is given by the NED, it is impossible to identify this form with any special part of Great Britain. I notice, however, that *to-wonde* occurs for *to-wende* in Layamon's *Brut*. See Luhmann, *Die Überlieferung von Lazamons Brut*. (Halle, 1906, p. 88.)

## 15. [ɛ] for [eɪ]

NAKED	necked	P 351	[nekɪd]	Not in Wright's Index.
PLAGUE	pleg	P 358	[plɛg]	Not in Wright's Index. But [plæg] Hmp. Wilson, p. 17.

Krapp indicates that [nekɪd] is still heard in the popular speech of the North. Such late shortenings are widely distributed through the English dialects. Neither [nekɪd] nor [plɛg] seems to have been current in earlier standard English.

## 16. [iɪ] for [eɪ]

DRAIN	dreen	P 307	[driɪn]	m.Chs. wm.Stf. Lei. ne.Shr. e.Suf. Ess. e.Sus. e.Ken.
-------	-------	-------	---------	--

The NED records the form *drean(e)* for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Krapp points out that several early American grammarians note [driɪn] as a form to be avoided. (II, 122-3.)

## 17. [ɛ] for [ɪ]

IF	ef	H 9	[ɛf]	Wright makes no comment on the vowel.
	ef	P 281		
LID	eyeleds	H 53	[led]	Not in Wright's Index.
	led	P 344		
HINDER	hendə	P 281	[hendə]	[ɛ] in w.Frf. e.Per. s.Oxf. Dor.
SINCE	sence	H 58	[sens]	[ɛ] in Sc. Nhb. Dur. Cum.
		P 367		Wm. Yks. Lan. Der. Lin. Nhp. Stf. Shr. War. Oxf. Nrf. Suf. Sus.
RINSE	rench	P 363	[rentʃ]	Sc. n.Ir. n.Cy. Der. Lin. Lei. War. Shr. Hnt. Dev.
SPIRIT	sperit	H 158	[spɛrɪt]	[ɛ] in Cum. Lan. Lin. Wor.
	sperit	P 374		Glo. Oxf. I.Ma. Dor.
PITH	pep	P 281	[pɛθ]	s.Ayr. nw.Lin. Lei. s.Oxf. Dor. w.Som. nw.Dev.

Wright makes the following general statement on the subject of [ɪ] > [ɛ]. "Apart from the influence of neighbouring sounds, the normal development of i in the modern dialects is: e s.Sc. (but see below) n.Nhb. n.Cum. Dor. w.Som.; i in all the remaining portions of England." (EDG 68.) Wiegert points out that in Devon "Gelegentlich finden wir einen kurzen e-Laut . . . als Entsprechung des me. i." 181, Anm 1. He gives [ɛ] in *pig*, *cinder*, *spirit*, *quick*, etc.

The NED records no [ɛ] forms of *if*, *lid*, or *hinder* later than the sixteenth century. It cites such forms as *rench* in the seventeenth

century, though such forms occurring later are regarded as dialectal. It records e-forms of *spirit* in the seventeenth century and nineteenth centuries.

## 18. [ɛ] for [ɪ] before ŋ and ŋk

BRING	[brɛŋ]	"i followed by ŋ or ŋk has generally had the normal development (Sec. 68) in such words as <i>bring</i> , <i>cling</i> , <i>finger</i> , <i>sing</i> , <i>thing</i> , <i>drink</i> , <i>shrink</i> , <i>sink</i> , <i>stink</i> . But e occurs in most of these words in Glo. Wil. Dev. . . . and <i>bring</i> , <i>sing</i> have ei in wm. Sc. EDG 71. Dor. and w.Som. have, of course, [ɛ] as the "normal development." See 17. Urlau records [ɛ] in Dor. for <i>bring</i> , <i>thing</i> , <i>think</i> , <i>drink</i> , <i>sing</i> , etc. See 10.2.
FINGER	[fɛŋgə]	
THING	[θɛŋ]	
DRINK	[drɛŋk]	
SING	[sɛŋ]	
THINK	[θɛŋk]	

In general, I have preferred to omit from consideration here forms not recorded by Harris or Payne. The forms noted above, however, are widespread throughout the South, though the speaker himself is rarely conscious of using them. This must account for the failure of Harris and Payne to record them. William Cabell Greet states that "the [ɛ] of *met* occurs occasionally in the word *think*," and notes its occurrence in Virginia, Texas, and Tennessee. *Culture in the South*, p. 607. It seems to me that [ɛ] occurs much more than occasionally—indeed, almost invariably in words of this class.

Krapp notes the frequent spelling of *bring* as *brenge* in the *Dedham Records*. He gives no other instances of e-forms in this class of words in early New England speech. (II, 115.)

## 19. [iɪ] for [ɪ]

ITCH	groun'- eatch itʃ	H 148  P 323 P 308: "Common in rural speech."	[iɪtʃ]	w.Som. Kruisinga. Wright does not include this word in his Index, but he does give [iɪ] in: <i>bitch</i> w.Som. <i>ditch</i> n.Stf. w.s.Som. <i>dish</i> Lan. Der. w.Som. e.Dev.
DISTRICT	dɪstrɪk	P 281	[dɪstrɪk]	Not in Wright's Index.

"Cummings, p. 160, notes that *itch* is sometimes pronounced like *each*, but the vowel here is historically short. In the *Southold Records*, II, 301 (1694) *bedticking* is spelled *bed-teeking*." (Krapp, II, 119.) This is the only instance which Krapp gives of the occurrence of this variant in early New England speech. Krapp does not attempt to find a dialectal source for this form.

## 20. [i:] for [ɪ]

LITTLE	leettle	H 16	[liidl]	Sus. Dor. W.Som. [i:] in Rut.
	leettle	P 344	(See 90)	Oxf. se.Brks. Bck. Bdf. Hrt.
				Nrf. Suf. Ess. Sur. Wil.
				ne.Yks. Dev. Wiegert, 101,
				Anm. 3.

The NED quotes Johnson, *Grammar* (1755): "There is another form of diminution among the English, by lessening the sound itself, especially of vowels; as there is a form of augmenting or lengthening them [sic] by enlarging, or even lengthening it; . . . as . . . *little* pronounced long, *lee-tle*." This hardly proves, of course, that [li:tl] was standard in the eighteenth century.

## 21. [ʊ] for [ɪ]

WISH	wursh	P 390	[wʊʃ]	n.Nhb.
			[wəʃ]	ne.Sc. w.Frf. e.Per.

The statement by Shewmake (p. 34) that "All but careful speakers in Virginia, and probably throughout the South, pronounce *wish* so that it rimes perfectly with *push* and *bush*," would indicate that [wʊʃ] is the correct interpretation of Payne's rather ambiguous transcription.

This is the only variant which might be taken to indicate specific Scotch-Irish influence. And the fact that it occurs in Virginia rather weighs against this view.

The form may be a late rounding caused by the [w]. On the other hand, there are instances of rounding [ɪ] to [ʊ] in the dialects of the south counties, e.g.:

will [wʊl] in Nhb. Cum. Stf. Nhp. Bdf. Hrt. Nrf. Ess. me.Wil. w.Som.

## 22. [aɪ] for [ɪ]

HYMN	hyme-book	H. 218 P 322: "some- times pro- nounced <i>haim</i> ."	[haɪm]	Not in Wright's Index.
------	-----------	---	--------	------------------------

The form may be a spelling pronunciation. On the other hand, if it developed a long vowel early enough, this vowel may have fallen in with ME. *i* and become diphthongized to [ai]. Such a development has actually occurred in the case of *hinder* which has [ai] in Dev. Wiegert, 181, Anm. 3. Whereas one cannot prove a long vowel for this word in ME, a long vowel, though undiphthongized, occurs in w.Som. (See Kruisinga.) Moreover, Wright points out that "Monosyllables often have a long vowel in w.Som. and e.Dev.; the following have *i*: *bid*, *bin*, *bit*, *bitch*, *chin*, *fin*, *skin*, *spin*, *stitch*." (EDG 68.) If such a tendency existed as early as the late ME. period in this region, such a form as [haɪm] may have been produced.

## 23. [ɜ] for [iɪ]

REGION	ridjun	H 158 P not listed	[rɪdʒən]	Not in Wright's Index.
BREAM	brim	P 294	[brɪm]	Not in Wright's Index.
TEAT	tit	P 281	[tɪt]	e.Oxf. ne.Nrf.
CREATURE	critter	P 302	[krɪtə]	None.

"In some words where the modern lit. language has a long vowel [iɪ from ME. *ē*], the vowel has often undergone late shortening to *i* (ɪ) in many dialects." (EDG 146.)

Most of Wright's examples occur in the southwest counties. All examples of *i* occur in Scotland and in the north. [ɜ] frequently occurs in Dev. and Dor. (See Wiegert, 201, and Urlau, 15, 4.)

## 24. [ɛ] for [iɪ]

REACH	retch retch	H 239 P 363	[rɛtʃ]	Chs. Not. Lin. Ess. me.Wil. nw.Dev.
-------	----------------	----------------	--------	--

This form also occurred in early New England pronunciation: "Cummings, p. 145, gives *retch* and *reach* as sounding alike." (Krapp, II, 105.)

The NED cites e-forms as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible, therefore, to regard this form in Southern speech as a survival of standard English.

## 25. [eɪ] for [iɪ]

CONCEIT	consate	H f 54	[kənsɛɪt]	Uls. Lan. Shr. me.Wil. [kən- sɛɪt] Yks. [kənsɛɪt] Lei.
REAL	rail	P 361	[reɪl]	Not in Wright's Index. Dev. Wiegert, 198.

Kruisinga for w.Som. gives [eɪ] in *deceit* and many other words which in standard speech have [iɪ]. Sec. 155. Wiegert records for Dev. [eɪ] in *decent*, *deceive*, *beast* and nearly all words containing ME. *ē*. In some words ME. *ē* also has become [eɪ] 198, 201. Kjedervist notes [eɪ] in Wiltshire in *deceive*, *ease*, *please*, *peace*, *receive*, etc., 120.

Krapp notes that though this form is often considered a Hibernianism, here Irish agrees with the southwest dialects of England. And since Irish influence can hardly account for the instances he cites of this form in early New England speech, he concludes that "We seem to have here, then, another instance of agreement between the characteristic speech of New England and the southwestern dialects of the English of the mother country." (II, 125.)

This [eɪ], however, according to Wyld, may have occurred in the standard language of the seventeenth century. See *History of Modern Colloquial English*, pp. 210-211. Luick disagrees: "Reime von me. *ē* auf me. *ā*, *ai* im 16. und 17. Jahrh. wie *ease*: *days* sind ungenaue Bindungen von [*ē*] oder [*ē*] auf [*æ*]. (Anders Wyld, Coll. 209; Zachrisson. Bull. 38, die meinen, dass me. *ē* einerseits früh zu [*i*] übergang, andererseits mit dem Laut von me. *ā* zusammenfiel.) *Grammatik*. (Sec. 499, Anm. 1.)

## 26. [ʌ] for [iɪ]

NEITHER	needer	H 146	[nʌdə]	
	nudder	H 7		w.Som. Kruisinga, sec. 284,
	nuther	P 353:	[nʌðə]	467, c. from ME. <i>nouðer</i> )
		"There ain't no- body there, and there ain't likely to be <i>nuther</i> ."		

*Outher* in the sense of *either* and *nouther* in the sense of *neither* have apparently been obsolete in the standard language since the end of the sixteenth century. (See NED.)

## 27. [ɑ] for [ɔ]

Southern U. S. speech differs considerably from standard English in its treatment of [ɔ].

o has become [ɔɪ] before [f], [s], [θ], and [f], [s], and [θ] followed by



another consonant. Standard English fluctuates between [ɔɪ] and [o] in these words.

o in Southern speech has also become lengthened to [ɔɪ] before g where standard English preserves [o].

o in Southern speech has become [ɔɪ] before [ŋ]. o remains in standard English.

o in Southern speech has in other positions become unrounded to [a]. Here, of course, in standard English it has been preserved. [a] occurs usually in Southern speech, however, in *gospel*, *hospital*, and *ostrich*.

Since these changes occur in educated speech, we do not find, of course, indications of these developments in Harris's transcriptions of the speech of the negro, and Payne omits any notice of the unrounding.

Krapp makes the following general remarks on this point: "One of the notable marks of present American English is the frequent occurrence of an unrounded [ɔ], scarcely distinguishable from [a], in words written with o, as in *not*, *god*, *cost*, *soft*, *coffee*, *frog*, etc. . . . The pronunciation with [a] is not recorded by the British phoneticians as now current in cultivated speech in England, but for America it may be said to be, in a large group of words, the general pronunciation." (II, 141.)

Krapp notes the presence of [a] in the present English dialects, citing Wright. He does not make the comment, however, that most of the examples which Wright gives are located in the south and southwest of England. And though he notices that [æ] occurs for o in Van Brugh's *Relapse* indicating that this variant occurred sometimes in the standard speech of the seventeenth century, he does not quote from Wright: "In some of the dialects, especially the south Midland, southern, and south-western, NE. o had a tendency to become æ through the intermediate stage a . . . ." (NEG 66, 4. Note.)

In the modern dialects Wright gives [a] in:

<i>bottom</i>	se.Ken. e.Dev.
<i>box</i>	se.Ken.
<i>broth</i>	Dor. e.Dev.
<i>cot</i>	se.Ken.
<i>follow</i>	n.Ayr.
<i>cross</i>	nw.e.Oxf. Sus. e.Dor. n.Dev. EDG 82.

He notes that [ɑ] is especially frequent before p. (EDG 83.) Most of his examples are drawn from Scottish and southwestern counties.

Urlau states that in Dorset: "me. o ohne störende Konsonanteneinflüsse wurde in der Regel zu einem leicht entrundeten [ɔ], das häufig mit [å] wechselt." (11.) Wiegert states that in Devon "Teilweise hat es [ME. o] früh Entrundung zu a erfahren, das dann wie die übrigen me. a zu [æ] palatalisiert wurde. Ausserdem aber finden wir es noch—wie in der Schriftsprache und vermutlich unter deren Einfluss—als [ɔ], das sehr offen ist und deutlich zu neuer Entrundung—also zu [ɑ]—neigt." (185, 1.)

Wright notes [ɑ] before *ft* in two southwestern counties, Glo. and w.Som., but [ɔ] occurs in se.Ken. me.Wil., and Sus. EDG 84. Before *st* [ɔ] occurs in Lan. Hrt. Lon. Sus. se.Ken. me.Wil. Som. EDG 85. Before *g* (his only example is *dog*) [ɔ] occurs in s.Ayr. I.Ma. Lon. Sus. Som. EDG 82.

Luick, however, regards the unrounded o as having originally spread over a much larger area than the south midland, south, and southwest counties. "Me. o in Fällen wie *stop*, *god* wurde auf einem grossen Teil des Sprachgebietes, vielleicht auf dem ganzen, im 16., ja teilweise schon im 15. Jahrh. zu einem a-Laut entrundet, der wahrrscheinlich low-back war." Sec. 533. This a was later rounded, according to Luick, to [q] in the second half of the eighteenth century, perhaps earlier. Sec. 557, 558. The American [ɑ] for [q] might therefore be regarded as a survival of the standard language of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Ekwall states, however: "Wir haben aber keinen Grund anzunehmen, dass dies [a] in der Gemeinsprache allgemein war." *Formenlehre*, Sec. 73. It is of some importance therefore to note the dialect areas in which we are certain that the unrounding must have taken place, important as Luick's authority must be considered.

#### 28. [æ] for [q]

DROP	drap	H 4	[dræp]	s.Som. nw.Dev.
	draep	P 281		
CROP	crap	H 197	[kræp]	Dor. nw.Dev.
	cræp	P 281		
YONDER	yander	H 20	[jændə]	Hrf. Brks. w.Sus. w.Wil.
		P not listed		e.Dev. [æɪ] in sm.Hmp.

"The pronunciations [kræp], [dræp] are also recorded as dialectal

survivals in southwestern England . . . and the American and British dialect forms probably go back to the same source." (Krapp, II, p. 142.) Kurath, in reviewing *The English Language in America* states that these variants "are probably rather Scotch in origin than from the west of England." (*Language*, III, p. 134.) Kurath does not state why he thinks they are Scottish. It may be that he has in mind Wright's statement that "In Ayr. Dmf. Lnk. Rnf. and se.Ken. the vowel [NE. o] has often become a or à." EDG 82. But Scotland is not the only important area in which the unrounding of o took place. See for example the statement made by Wright in his NEG quoted above in 27. Moreover, Luick's view that the unrounding of o was perhaps a *general* process in the whole speech area, further diminishes the need for looking to Scotland as the source of unrounded variants.

Luick, though holding that the unrounding of o process was perhaps general, seems to regard the *palatalized forms* as located rather specifically in the southwest. Where the unrounding process occurred early enough, the resulting [a] fell together with ME. a and then became palatalized to [æ] in the course of the sixteenth century. The earliest unroundings seem to have occurred in the southwest. "Besonders früh trat diese Veränderung ein im mittleren und westlichen Teil des Südens, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon. Anzeichen dafür finden sich in gelegentlichen a-Schreibungen in Texten aus dem 15. Jahrh., die aus diesen Gegenden stammen. Hier ist die neue [a] in nicht mehr deutlich ersichtlichem Umfang mit dem me. a zusammengefallen und hat mit diesem den Wandel zu [æ] erlitten (unten, Sec. 559), so dass hier für me. o heute vielfach [æ] erscheint." (Sec. 533.) Such palatalized unrounded forms from ME. o as have made their way into the standard language, seem to have come in from the southwest dialects. "Auch die mundartliche. Entwicklung des Südwestens, die zu [æ] führte, hat Spuren in der Gemeinsprache hinterlassen. Diese Lautung verrät sich in gelegentlichen a-Schreibungen im 15. und 16. Jahrh. und scheint im 17. Jahrh. bei manchen in affektierter Sprechweise üblich gewesen zu sein. In einigen Fällen hat sie sich aber dauernd festgesetzt, in *Egad, gaffer, gammer, sprat, . . . plat . . .* und technischen Ausdrücken, die mit der Tuchfabrikation im Südwesten zusammenhängen können: *nap . . . strap . . . ratchet . . .* (Horn, Untersuch. 30)." (Luick, *Grammatik*, Sec. 535.)

There seems no good reason, therefore, for regarding these forms

as deriving from Scotland rather than from the southwest, especially in view of the fact that so many other of the Alabama-Georgia variants seem to derive from the southwest counties also.

## 29. [ʌ] for [ɔ]

CHOCK- FULL	chugfull	P 299	[tʃʌg]	Not in Wright's Index.
----------------	----------	-------	--------	------------------------

The NED states that "*chock* and *chuck* appear to have been originally variants of the same word." The NED also cites the form "*chuckfull*" in the eighteenth century.

## 30. [æ] for [ɔ], [ɔɪ]

SOFT	saf'	H 197	[sæf]	None.
	sof	P 372	[sɔɪf]	[a] in Or.I. ne.Sc. w.Frf. e.Per. Ayr. Kcb. Ant. Cum. Stf. Nrf. Sus.
	sæft	P 365	[sæft]	[aɪ] in Lth. Edb. Nhp. se.Ken. Glo. Hmp. Wil. Dor. Som. Dev.

## 31. [æ] for [ɔɪ]

SAUCY	sassy	H 4	[sæsi]	Not in Wright's Index but Urlau gives [æ] for Dor. [sæsi] Wil. Kjederqvist, 142, 2, a.
SAUCE	sass	P 365	[sæ:s]	[aɪ] in Oxf. Bdf. Suf. Ess. Hmp. I.W. Wil. Dor. w.Som. nw.Dev. Brks. Sus. [a] in Sh.I. w.Som. Dev. [eɪ] in Dor. Urlau, 21. [säs] Wil. Kjederqvist, 142, 2, a.
SAUCERS	sassers	H 46 P not listed	[sæsoz]	Vowel not treated by Wright. [aɪ] in Hmp. Wilson, p. 19, may point back to earlier [æ].
JAUNT	dʒænt	P 281	[dʒænt]	me.Wil.
HAUNT	hænt	P 281	[hænt]	Not in Wright's Index.

The [aɪ] in *soft* and *sauce*, *saucer*, in the modern dialects would seem to represent seventeenth century [æɪ], the [æɪ] becoming [aɪ] before f, s, θ in the eighteenth century. (See NEG 93.) If so, we should perhaps regard these forms as a result of the unrounding process which took place especially in the south Midland, southern, and southwestern counties. (See NEG 66, Note. See also 27, 28 above.) It may be of significance that the [æ] forms which result from OE. *eal* plus a consonant (EDG 38) are all located in the

southwest: Wil. Dor. e.Dev. Glo. nw.Som. w.Cor. e.Som. n.Shr. According to Wright and Ekwall these words had [ɔɪ] as a vowel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [See NEG 84, and *Formenlehre* 35.)

Luick, on the other hand, regards the development of ME. au as an [aɪ] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was in the second half of the eighteenth century, rounded to [ɔɪ]. (See *Grammatik*, Sec. 519, 520.) Compare his account of the development of ME. *ō* in 28 above.

Just as in regions where the development from ME. *ō* to [a] was early, the [a] developed to [æ], so in regions where the au became monothongized early, the [aɪ] developed to [æɪ]. "Aber in einigen Mundarten erfolgte die Monophthongierung ganz oder teilweise so früh, dass das sich ergebende *ā* noch von einem später zu besprechenden Lautwandel, einer zweiten Aufhellung (Sec. 537) ergriffen wurde und zu [æ], manchmal zu [ē] weiterrückte. . . . Diese Wiedergabe ist heute für den mittleren und westlichen Teil des Südens charakteristisch; sie kann aber ursprünglich weiterverbreitet gewesen sein, da das heutige [a] durch einen in anderen Fällen sicher zu erschliessenden, jüngeren Wandel von *æ* > *ā* (Sec. 559) entstanden sein kann. Namentlich für Nordengland und Schottland ist dies wahrscheinlich." (*Grammatik*, 519.) Ekwall, on the other hand, is inclined to regard [aɪ] or [æ] forms as descending from the dialects in which au was regularly unrounded: "Daraus, dass der Monophthong von zahlreichen Aussprachelehrern mit frz. oder d. *a* identifiziert oder verglichen wird, haben einige Forscher geschlossen, entweder dass heutiges [ɔɪ] zunächst auf [aɪ] < [au] zurückgeht, oder dass in der älteren Gemeinsprache sowohl [aɪ] wie [ɔɪ] für älteres au vorkamen. Spuren eines Übergangs [au] > [aɪ], woraus [æɪ] und [aɪ], sind zwar gefunden. *Sauce* wird von Johnston 1764 und Elphinston 1790 mit [æɪ] bezeugt, und [saɪs] ist noch eine vulgäre Aussprache. Aus [æɪ] hat sich offenbar das von Nares 1784 bezeugte [æ] in *sausage* entwickelt. Die heutige Aussprache [tʃaɪdrən] neben [tʃɔɪdrən] für *chaldron* kann durch diesen Übergang erklärt werden. Aber dies [aɪ] oder [æɪ] stammt vermutlich aus Mundarten, in denen [au] regelmässig zu [aɪ] wurde. Für die Gemeinsprache ist—abgesehen von besonderen Stellungen—nur [ɔɪ] anzunehmen."\* (*Formenlehre*, Sec. 36.)

\* The passage quoted from Aubrey in the introduction to this study would seem to support Ekwall. But even if we follow Luick and regard *causa* as having the

At any rate, however, whether creeping in from the southwest dialects or developing normally in the standard language, palatalized forms of *sauce*, *aunt*, *jaunt*, etc., occurred at least sporadically in the earlier standard language. In addition to the examples given by Ekwall above, see Luick, 521, Anm. 2, Anm. 3. The Georgia-Alabama variants may derive, of course, from such older standard forms.

## 32. [ʌv] for [ɔɪ]

FOUGHT	faut	P 310	[faut]	s.Nhb. n.Dur. Wm. n.nw.Yks. em.se.Lan. s.Oxf. Sus. w.Wil.
--------	------	-------	--------	--

## 33. [a] for [ɔɪ]

DAUB	dob	H 109 P 305	[dab]	Not in Wright's Index. [dæɪb] Wil. Kjedervist, 142, 1, a.
------	-----	----------------	-------	--

This would seem to be another unrounded form, resulting from the process stated above. It may, on the other hand, be a form derived from *dab* with the vowel changed by the fluctuation between [æ] and [aɪ]. (For which see 5.)

## 34. [ɛ] for [oɪ]

YOLK	yelk	P 390	[jelk]	s.Lin. Glo. ne.Cmb.
------	------	-------	--------	---------------------

Krapp does not mention this variant. It is also common in Tennessee.

## 35. [ʌ] for [ʊ]

TOOK	tuck	H 5	[tak]	wm.Sc. Bdf. Sus. Wil. Dor.
	tuck	P 384		
SHOOK	shuck	H 21	[ʃʌk]	Not in Wright's Index.
	shuck	P 369		
SOOT	sut	P 377	[sat]	ne.sn.sm.Sc. Kcb. Lth. Edb. Rut. s.War. s.Wor. ne.Shr. s.Oxf. m.Bck. Bdf. ne.s.Nrf. Ken. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. w.Som. e.Dev. Gepp gives this form for Essex. Heil, 32.
PUT	pət	P 361	[pat]	Sh.I. Inv. sn.wm.Sc. Lth. Edb. s.Sc. n.Nhb. Rut. Lei. w.Wor. n.ne.m.Shr. e.Hrf. Bck. Nrf. e.Suf. s.Sus. Sus. Dor.me.w.Wil. Som. Dev. Cor.

vowel [aɪ] in the seventeenth century, Aubrey's transcription *casa* can hardly be interpreted as indicating anything other than a palatal vowel. We may conclude, therefore, that in the late seventeenth century, the palatal vowel in words descending from ME. *au* was *not* standard, but that such a vowel was used in the *southwest* counties, even by educated people.

[sat] and [pat] may represent archaic standard. Nares (1792) regards [sat] as correct and prefers [pat] to [put]. (Krapp, II, 149.) All the forms given above occurred in early New England speech. (Krapp, II, 149-150.)

## 36. [uɪ] for [ʌ]

SUPPLEST	soopless	H 164	[su:pl]	Not in Wright's Index.
SUPPLE	sûpl	P 281	[su:pl]	Not in Wright's Index.

Krapp indicates that this form also occurred in early New England speech. (II, 149.) Of course, it is possible to interpret this form as the result of hyper-urbanization. On the other hand, though Wright does not include the word *supple*, he gives a number of instances of u which appear as [ʌ] in the standard language, having become lengthened to [uɪ] in the dialects. Urlau states that in Dor. "me. u > [uu] in der Lautgruppe ul nach Labialen," but he adds to these cases [uup] for *up*, beside [ʌp].

Wright's instances occur in Scotland, the northern and north midland counties, and in the southern and southwest counties. EDG 99.

## 37. [ɔɪ] for [juɪ]

CHEW	chaw	H 26	[tʃɔɪ]	n.Lan. I.Ma. Shr. Bck. Sus.
	chaw	P 298		e.Som. e.Dev.

"Walker [1791] says that *ew* is sometimes pronounced like *aw* in the verb *to chew*, but this is 'gross and vulgar.' . . . Nares, *General Rules*, p. 63, gives [tʃɔɪ] for *chew* as the only proper pronunciation." (Krapp, II, 153-154.)

The form may, therefore, be merely a survivor of eighteenth century standard.

## 38. [oɪ] for [uɪ]

SURE	sho(re)	P 369	[ʃoɪ]	Wright records [ô] for Shr.
	sho(ly)	H 5		w.Som. Dev. Cor.
PURE	pyo	H f 19	[pjɔɪ]	Not in Wright's Index.
CURE	kyore	H 9	[kjɔɪ]	Not in Wright's Index.
	kyore	P 328		

Wright's symbol [ô] indicates a mid-back-narrow-round vowel. Read has pointed out that this "mid-narrow o: before r or ə" has been preserved in the Southern states (and in other regions of America) "whereas in the nineteenth century it was lowered to ɔɪ by Southern Englishmen." (JEGP, XXII, p. 220.)

Krapp indicates that o forms appeared in early New England speech also, but he does not give any indication that they ever appeared in the standard language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (II, 153.)

These forms are not properly entered here as a deviation from modern standard English (except in so far as the quality of the o differs), for in modern standard o forms occur.

"In the combination jū from older iu . . . plus final r the pronunciation now fluctuates between juə, jʊə and jɔə, jō, as *cure, endure, mature, obscure, pure, secure*." (NEG 129. See also NEG 74.)

#### 39. [joi] for [ju:]

ewe	yô	P 391	[joi]	es.Yks. Lin. Lei. w.s.War. n.Wor. Glo. e.Oxf. n.m.Bck. n.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. Dor. w.s.Som. e.Dev. [joi] Hmp., Wilson, p. 21.
-----	----	-------	-------	--

Ekwall remarks that "Neben *ewe* stand bis ins 18. Jahrh. die Nebenform *yowe* (<æ. *eowu* mit steigendem Diphthong)." *Formenlehre*, Sec. 61. The form may be archaic standard, therefore.

Krapp does not mention this variant.

#### 40. [ɔɪ] for [ʌ] before n

HUNGRY	hongry	H 225	[hɔɪŋgrɪ]	Not given in Wright's Index, but [q] in <i>hunger</i> in Uls. Bck.
	hongry	P 321		Not in Wright's Index. Wie-
UNTIED	ontied	H 241	[ɔɪn-]	gert states that in Dev. "Eine
UNSETTLE	onsettle	H 245		junge Dehnung des me. u
UNEASY		P 281:		hervorgegangen [v] liegt vor
UNSEEN		"Also in		in [ʃn] (-lucky). . . . S.
		many		ferner bei W. <i>aun-</i> für schre.
		words in		<i>un-</i> in aunborn B.B.D. 17, 15,
		<i>un</i> ; <i>ɔnslɪn</i> ,		aunconcerned ib. 18, 20, aun-
		<i>ɔnlsi</i> , etc."		til ib. 101, 7, aun-buttoned
				D.Y. 13, 10, aunlace ib. 22, 5."
				189, Anm. 2. [q] in <i>undo</i> Hmp.
				Wilson, p. 21.

Krapp does not mention these variants.

#### 41. [ɛ], [ɪ] for [ʌ]

JUDGE	jedge	H 88	[dʒɛdʒ]	s.Oxf. Sus. [ɪ] in w.Som.
	jedge	P 324		e.sw.Dev.



JUST	des	H 4	[des]	[ε] in Cai. n.Lin. n.Wor. m.Shr. Hrf. Glo. Oxf. Nrf. Suf. Ess. n.Ken. Sus. Hmp. nw.Wil. w.Som. Dev.
	des	P 304: "chiefly a negrosim."		
BRUSH	bresh	H 84	[brε]	Or.I. Brks. [ɪ] in w.Som. nw.Dev.
	bresh	P 294		
ONION	ingun(s)	H 103	[ɪŋən]	Inv. ne.Sc. w.Frf. e.Per. wm.Sc. s.Ayr. Kcb. Glo. Bdf. s.Sur. Sus. Kruisinga also gives w. Som. [ɪ] occurs in m.Nhp. Bdf. ne.Nrf. ne.Cmb. Dev. Kcb. ne.sm.Sc.
	ingun	P 323		
SUCH	sech	H 21	[setʃ]	Lei. Glo. s.Oxf. Nrf. Uls. Dur. Cum. Yks. Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. Dub. Lin. Not. Rut. Lei. Nhp. War. se.Wor. Shr. Hrf. Glo. Oxf. Bdf. Bck. Hrt. Nrf. Suf. Ess. Ken. s.Sur. Sus. sm. Hmp. me.Wil. e.Dor. Dev. Cor. wm.Sc.
	sich	P 369	[sɪtʃ]	
SHUT	shet	H 26	[ʃet]	Shr. Oxf. nw. Hrt. ne.Nrf. e.Suf. se.Ken. Sus. nw.Dev.
	shet	P 368		
TOUCH	tech	H 14	[tetʃ]	None, but [ɪ] in wm.Sc. me.- Wil. e.w.Som. nw.Dev. e.Dev.
	tech	P 380		
COVER	kivver(ed)	H 22 P not listed	[kɪvə]	[ɪ] in Sc. Irel. Nhb. Yks. Chs. Not. Lin. Rut. Lei. Nhp. War. Wor. Shr. Glo. Bdf. Oxf. Hnt. Nrf. Suf. Sus. Hmp. Wil. Som. Dev. Corn. Gepp gives [kɪvə] for Ess. Heil, 23.

The NED cites *i* forms of *brush* in the seventeenth century.

We are perhaps not to attach too much importance to whether [ε] or [ɪ] occurs. The transcriptions given above of *such* may indicate fluctuation between these two vowels. There is considerable fluctuation between them even in the English dialects. See for example the counties which give both [ɪ] and [ε] in *such*. Tuttle accounts for the fluctuation as follows: "I should say that *jist* contains normal *i* from [y] in accord with *testy* from *testu*; *jest* represents a weak-stress form of *jist*."\*

Krapp notes these variants in early New England speech though he says that "the list was never large and the words probably never had much vogue in cultivated speech." (II, 165.)

\* Tuttle, E. H. "Review of *The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect*," *Language*, X, pp. 219-220. June, 1934.

## 42. [wɜ] for [ʊ]

CUSHIONS	kwishins	H 174	[kwɜʃɪns]	Lan. Shr.
		P not listed		

The NED gives many forms with *qui-*, *quy-*, *qwy-*, etc., in the seventeenth and a form *quishing* in the eighteenth century. The Southern variant may represent archaic standard, therefore.

## 43. [iɪ] for [aɪ]

OBLIGE	bleedze(d)	H 19	[bliɪdʒ]	[iɪ] in Bch. Abd. em.Sc. s.Ayr.
	bleege(d)	P 291		Ant. Nhb. Cum. Wm. sw.Yks.
				Lan. w.Som.

This is very probably a survival of earlier standard: "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and well on into the last century, *oblige* was treated as being a late French loan-word, and was accordingly pronounced with *i* . . ." (NEG 73.)

TINY	teeny	P 380	[tiɪnɪ]	m.Cum. Wm. sw.Yks. se.s.-
	(-weeny)			Lan. I.Ma. s.Chs. s.Stf. n.Der.
				mw.Lin. Lei. w.War. Sus.
				Dor.

Krapp does not mention this variant.

Both the literary and the dialectal form occur side by side in the South.

## 44. [eɪ] for [aɪ]

CHINA	chany	H 46	[tʃeɪnɪ]	Not given in Wright's Index.
	chaney	P 297		Kruisinga gives [tʃeɪnɪ] in
				w.Som.
				Wiegert gives [tʃäni] for Dev.
				203, Ann.3.

This may, of course, be merely archaic standard English. It persisted down to the nineteenth century. (See Kruisinga, Section 501.)

## 45. [aɪ] for [ɔɪ]

BOIL	bile	H 125	[baɪl]	Lth. Edb. Dub. Wm. s.Stf.
				Rut. Lei. m.Nhp. w.War.
				w.Wor. n.Shr. s.Oxf. se.Hrt.
				ne.Cmb. s.Nrf. Suf. Ess. se-
				Ken. Sur. Sus. e.Dor. e.Dev.

Examination of Wright's Index will show that the literary language is pushing this form out of the dialects. Many give both [baɪl] and [boɪl].

[aɪ] is of course the pronunciation in the standard language until well into the eighteenth century. (See NEG 88.) [aɪ] forms in the speech of the negro may well be merely survivals of earlier standard English.

JOIN	jine jine	H 36 P 325	[dʒaɪn]	Ayr. Lth. Edb. se.sw.Lan. s.Stf. n.Der. w.Wor. m.Shr. s.Oxf. Ess. se.Ken. Sus. Dor. e.sw.Dev.
HOIST	hist hist	H 136 P 320	[haɪst]	Not in Wright's Index.
POISON	pizen pizen	H 171 P 358	[paɪzən]	Edb. Lan. s.Stf. n.Der. s.Oxf. Suf. se.Ken. Sus. Dor. e.Dev.

## 46. [waɪ] for [oɪ], [ɔɪ]

GOING	gwine gwine	H 6 P 318: "a negroism, but often used by the white peo- ple in rural districts."	[gwaɪn]	s.Wor. Hrf. Gmg. s.Pem. Glo. w.Oxf. Sus. Hmp. I.W. w.Wil. w.nw.Som. nw.Dev.
COIL	kwaɪl	P 361	[kwaɪl]	Not in Wright's Index.

[kwaɪl] is probably to be traced to the same counties which give [gwaɪn]. All such forms as [waɪ], [wɔɪ], [waɪ] which Wright records in words like *point*, *boil*, *poison*, etc., are to be found in the south-west counties and only there. (EDG 213.)

## 47. [æ] for [aɪ] before [r]

STAR	stair	H f 262	[stæə]
HEARTH	h'ath	H f 46	[hæθ]
HARSH	ha'sh	H 72	[hæʃ]
PARCEL	passel passel	H 160 P 356	[pæsl]

These variants are survivals of the language of seventeenth century, standard or dialectal. "NE. æ from older a was lengthened to æ in the early part of the seventeenth century before r plus a consonant, but before final r it was not lengthened until towards the end of the century." (NEG 108.) This [æɪ] did not develop into [aɪ] even in England until the eighteenth century. The negro (assuming that Harris is correct in his transcriptions) shows himself here more conservative than the white, though *passel* for *parcel*

shows that [æɪ] forms are not restricted to the negro, and there is abundant evidence to show that the whites of the South and indeed of the whole country formerly pronounced [æɪ] in all of these words. (See Krapp, II, 108 ff.) Indeed, in the older parts of the South, Virginia and South Carolina, the pronunciation still persists among the whites.

It will be noticed that of the words given above *harsh*, *marsh*, and *parcel* end in [s] or [ʃ]. [r] was lost before [s] and [ʃ] very early. "In some of the southern parts of England it [r] had begun to be weakened before consonants, especially s, and sometimes omitted in writing, in late ME. and early NE., as is evidenced by such early spellings as Dos(s)et 'Dorset,' wosted 'worsted'; and in two names of fishes the forms without r became standardized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, viz. *bass* . . . and *dace* . . ." (NEG 189.) Krapp records many instances of early loss of [r] in these words in early American speech. (See II, 219 ff. See 71.)

#### 48. [aɪ] for [æ] before r

HAIR	ha'r	H 195	[haɪ]
WEAR	wa'r	H f 20	[waɪ]
BEAR	b'ar	H f 16	[baɪ]
THERE	dar	H 4	[daɪ]
	dere	H 27	[dæə]
	thar	P 380	[ðaɪ]
WHERE	whar	H 4	[Maɪ]
	whar	P 387	
AIR	a'r	H 224	[aɪ]
HARROW	hãrə	P 319	[haɪrə]
	horror(ed)	H f 244	

These forms are probably based on analogy with words like those in 47. As is readily seen, in the seventeenth century the words in both 47 and 48 had [æ(r)], and thus conditions were ideal for fluctuation between [æ] and [aɪ]. With later immigrants bringing [aɪ] into some words of this class, [aɪ] was easily introduced in others where the standard language did not warrant it. It will be noticed that the negro preserves more of these pronunciations formed mistakenly on analogy than the white, but Payne's few instances of [aɪ] forms in the speech of the white show that the forms in question are not "negro"—merely survivals from older general speech. (See 5.) Krapp, on the other hand, does not choose to regard this as a result of analogy: ". . . on the other hand the

vowel quality of [ɛ], before *r* has very generally shown a tendency to lower still further, as for example in the change of early Middle English *fer*, *derk* into *far*, *dark*, and later changes such as *merchant* to *marchant*, *person* to *parson*, etc. A similar change may be noted in the case of [ɛɪ], and the stages of this change would be [ɛɪ], [æɪ], [aɪ], the final stage being represented by the familiar dialect pronunciation of *there* as *thar*, *bear* as *bar*, etc. This has been described as 'the most conspicuous instance of a Southern mode of pronunciation,' and as having 'turned *affair* into *affarr*, *declare* into *declar*, *hair* into *har*, *stairs* into *stars*, etc.' Thornton, *An American Glossary*, I, 40. It is, however, by no means peculiar to Southern American English in its origins, but is merely one of those variants in words of this type which formerly was much more general, occurring in New England as well as in the South." (II, p. 107.)

For a fluctuation of this type still going on in this dialect see *rear*, 50.

## 49. [ɜ] for [æ] (British [ɛ])

SCARE	skeer'd	H 14	[skɜ]	Dur. e.Yks. Rut. Sus. Dor
	skeer	P 366		w.Som. e.Dev.
CARE	keer	H 127	[kɜ]	Dur. Wm. Yks. Lan. Not.
	kier	P 296: "and some- times with intrusive i, <i>kier</i> ."		War. Shr. Hrf. Bdf. Hrt. Oxf. Ess. Sus. Wil. e.Dor. Som. w.Cor. Glo. e.Dev.
CHAIR	cheer	H 65	[tʃɜ]	Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. Lin. Rut.
	cheer	P 298		Lei. War. Wor. Shr. Glo. Oxf. Bck. Bdf. Nrf. Sus. I.W. Dor. n.e.Dev.

In the standard pronunciation of the seventeenth century the vowel in these words was [ɛ]. (See NEG 119, 128.)

## 50. [æ] for [ɜ]

QUEER	quare	H 151	[kwæ]	[ɛ or ɛ] in Lan. Stf. Der. Hrf.
	quare	P 361		Glo. Nrf. Sus. Hmp. Dor. Som. Dev. w.Cor. Inv. Ant.
REAR	r'ar	H 32	[rɑɪ]	None.
	rarin'	H f 31	[ræ]	[ɛ] Lan. Stf. Oxf. Sus. me. Wil.
	rær	P 362		Dor. w.Som.
	râr			[æ] Dev. Wiegert, 200, 3. [ɛ] in Wil. Kjedqvist, 85, 1.

The standard pronunciation of these words in the seventeenth century was [æ]. (See NEG 120.) But "A small number of ME. words had ē=WS. æ, beside ē=Non-WS. ē. . . . After much fluctuation in the early NE. pronunciation and spelling, e. . . in some words and i in others became the standard pronunciation. . . ." (NEG 120.)

This evidence that the fluctuation was very early makes the testimony of the dialects here and in 49 very important. For the pronunciation [raɪ] for *rear*, see 48.

## 51. [æ] for [e] before r

<b>TERRIFY</b>	tarrify	H 95	[tærfai]	Not in Wright's Index.
		P not listed		
<b>TERRAPIN</b>	tarrypin	H 175	[tæripin]	Not in Wright's Index.
	tarrapin	P 379	[tærapin]	
<b>NE'ER</b>	na'er	H 107	[næ]	na: Dor. (This form perhaps points back to [næ(r)], in the seventeenth century, which with the linking r of the south dialects would give [nærə], [næri] for <i>never</i> a) Gepp records [næri] for Essex.
		P not listed		

The NED gives a-forms of *terrapin* in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Since the word came into the language in the seventeenth century, the a-forms would seem to be as early as the e-forms.

In many dialects, [e] has in various positions become [æ]. See Index of EDG under *nettle*, *nest*, *merry*, *lend*, *less*, etc. Most of the counties which give [æ] are in the south, east, and southwest. (See 9.)

## 52. [ʌ] for [ɜɪ]

<b>CHURCH</b>	chu'ch	H 219	[tʃʌtʃ]	[ʌ] in Stf. Der. Not. Lin. Lei. Bck. Nrf. Suf. e.Sus. e.Dor. e.Dev. [ʌɪ] in Der. Lei. Nhp. War. Wor. Shr. w.Som. w.Cor.
		P not listed		
<b>BURST</b>	bus'	H 9	[bʌs]	[ʌ] in Cmb. Sus. w.Wil. e.Dor. Som. nw.Dev.
	bust	P 281		
<b>FIRST</b>	fus'	H 16	[fʌs]	[ʌ] in Lan. w.Chs. Stf. Der. Rut. s.Lin. Lei. War. n.Wor. Shr. nw.e.Oxf. Bck. Bdf. se.e.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. nw.e.w.Som. nw.e.Dev. se.-Hrt. Cmb. s.Nrf. w.e.Suf.

				[ʌ:] in s.Lan. m.Nhp. e.War. se.Hrt. n.Ken. Not in Wright's Index.
PURSLANE	pusly pusli	H 26 P 281	[pʌslɪ]	
WORD	wud(s)	H 4 P not listed	[wʌd]	[ʌ] Stf. s.Lin. Lei. Hrf. Hrt. ne. Nrf. Suf. Sus. s.Dev. [ʌ:] in Not. Lin. Lei. m.Nhp. e.War. e.Hrf. Oxf. Bdf. Ken. s.Sur. Sus. Hmp. I.W. nw.- Wil. w.Dor. Som. e.Dev Corn.
WORSE	wuss	H 155 P not listed	[was]	[ʌ] in Stf. nw.Der. s.Lin. Lei. War. n.Wor. Bck. Bdf. ne- Cmb. ne.Nrf. e.Suf. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. me.w.Wil. e.Dor. nw.e.Som. nw.Dev. Gepp gives this form for Ess.
SHIRT	shut	H 155 P not listed	[ʃʌt]	[ʌ] in w.Der. [ʌ:] in me.Wil. Dor.

Now Wright interprets his [ʌ]—Wright's symbol is [e]—as a mid-back-narrow vowel, the u in London *cut*. Dr. W. A. Read in his "Some Phases of American Pronunciation" states: "But such is not the sound of ʌ in the usual American pronunciation. To my ear the American ʌ has a quality wholly unlike that either of a front or of a back vowel. I cannot detect in our ʌ even a remote resemblance to a pure front æ or eɪ, nor should I think for a moment of comparing ʌ with my aɪ. The American ʌ is essentially different from the back aɪ, because in the formation of ʌ the tongue, though retracted to the inner position, retains the neutral shape of a mixed vowel. If the tongue were retracted a little farther—that is to say, to the full in-position—the resulting sound would virtually correspond to that indicated by No. 38 in Sweet's table of vowels. The American ʌ is generally inner mid-mixed-narrow." (JEGP, XXII, pp. 219–220. April, 1923.)

There is reason to believe, however, that Wright's [e] is not a back vowel, after all. He is not too precise in defining some of the symbols employed in the EDG. One notes that [ə] is defined as mid-mixed-narrow or mid-mixed wide, and that [ē] is regarded as a mid-mixed-narrow or low-mixed-narrow vowel. Moreover, Ellis regards the vowel "in *first*, *erst*, *third*, when r is entirely lost" as in the south England dialects as "Bell's No. 22 [that is, low-mixed-wide] . . . not materially different from əə [that is, mid-mixed-

narrow].” One notices also that Kruisinga states that  $\mathfrak{A}$ , his symbol for  $[\Lambda]$ , “is not exactly the same sound as u in literary *but*. It often resembles (q), from which it differs by being unrounded.” (Sec. 40.) There is a strong temptation to regard the present vowel in Southern U. S. *cut*, that is a mid-mixed-narrow somewhat retracted vowel, as the vowel indicated by Wright’s  $[\bar{e}]$  in the modern dialects, and to say that this vowel which occurs in Southern *just*, *bust*, etc., has its source in the English dialects.

This is what Heil in his *Die Volkssprache im Nordosten der Vereinigten Staaten von America* does. See, for example, sections 4, 21, 125, etc. And this is very probably correct. But he does not face the problem that the vowel indicated by Wright in the modern dialects of England does not exactly correspond to that in the American dialects with which he concerns himself, and this is a problem which has to be faced if we are to be accurate.

There is further evidence to indicate that the vowel of the modern English dialects was a mid-mixed rather than a mid-back vowel in the seventeenth century. Wright says that “ir, ur became ær about the end of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century, and then later er also partly became ær, so that i, u, and e all fell together in ə [mid-mixed-lax or mid-mixed-tense] in the standard language, as also in the modern dialects except the Scottish and the adjacent dialects of England. . . .” (NEG 118.) The [ə] “was then later lengthened to ē [low-mixed-tense].” (NEG 114, 117.) Compare with this Ekwall’s account: “Der Vokal in *fur*, *hurt* wird lange mit demjenigen in *cut* identifiziert und war jedenfalls diesem sehr ähnlich. Der Zusammenfall mit dem aus [i] vor [r] entstandenen Vokal deutet jedoch auf Verschiebung des u vor [r] zu einem gemischten Vokal [ə]\* hin. Mit dem Verklängen des [r] wurde [ə] gedehnt und vermutlich etwas gesenkt. [əi] in *fur* ist etwas niedriger als [ə] in unbetonten Silben.” (Sec. 99.) It is to be observed that the vowel of *cut*, together with which the vowel in dialectal, *curse*, *burst*, etc., fell, was not in the seventeenth century a back vowel, but probably a mixed. Ekwall states: “Ein dem unreinen frz. o in *comme* nahestehender o-Laut wird heute oft von Amerikanern und Nordengländern statt [a] der Gemeinsprache gesprochen. Ein solcher Laut mag sehr gut in der älteren

\* Ekwall states that [ə] is a mid-mixed vowel. His [a]—the vowel of *cut*—is a mid-back vowel. Ekwall’s [ə] is therefore closer to Southern U. S.  $[\Lambda]$  than is his [a], the vowel of London *cut*.



Gemeinsprache gegolten haben. Er lässt sich leicht als aus [u] durch Schwächung der Rundung und Senkung zu mittelhoher Zungenstellung entstanden denken." (*Formenlehre*, Sec. 97. See, also, Luick, *Grammatik*, Sec. 551.)

The mid-mixed vowel developed into the mid-back vowel of London *cut*, *come*, etc., comparatively late. According to Ekwall, "Wann der heute geltende ungerundete Vokal mit deutlichem a-Klang sich entwickelt hat, ist ungewiss. Man hat in dem Umstand, dass der Portugiese de Castro 1750 den Vokal in *cut* mit portug. a gleichstellt, einen Beweis für die Existenz des [a] um 1750 erblickt. Schreibungen wie *bungalow*, *pundit* mit u für den unreinen indischen a-Laut, die seit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrh. begegnen, deuten vielleicht auch auf [a]. Sichere Beweise sind dies jedoch nicht, da die unreinen a-Laute auch mit einem unreinen o-Laut verwechselt werden konnten." (*Ibid.*, Sec. 97.)

Luick finds that the mixed vowel persisted to the latter part of the eighteenth century: "Den älteren 'mixed vowel' scheinen noch zu sprechen Elphinston (1765, 1790), der ihn als 'the hollow guttural that inspires a hum' bezeichnet, und Nares 1784, der von ü sagt, es habe 'an obscurer sound.' Walker 1791, der findet, dass die dem Vokal von *love* nächstverwandte Länge diejenige in *note* ist, scheint einen o-artigen Laut gesprochen zu haben, keinesfalls aber das heutige [v]." (Sec. 563, Anm. 1.)

If the vowel of *cut* was a mixed vowel until far into the eighteenth century, presumably the vowel of *burst*, *first*, etc., in the dialects of the South counties was a mixed vowel until far into the century also.

The difference between the treatment of the vowel in these dialects and the treatment in the literary language may have arisen as follows: in the literary language the [r] lowered the mid-mixed vowel to low-mixed. Earlier loss of [r] in the dialects, however, resulted in a retention of the mixed vowel, the vowel of the Alabama-Georgia dialect. In the *English* dialects, however, the mixed vowel in *burst*, *first*, etc., has along with the vowel in words like *cut* at a later period followed the development to a back position.

Compare with this the Southern U. S. treatment of [oi] before [r] where the mid vowel has been retained in contrast to the Southern British treatment where, under the influence of [r] the vowel has been lowered. (See Read, *opus cit.*, p. 220.)

For early loss of [r], see 71.

53. [ɪʳ] for [ɜɪ]

PERT	peart	H 27	[pɪət]	Wm. Yks. Lan. Stf. Lin. Oxf.
	peart	P 356		Nrf. Sus. Wil. w.Som. e.Dev.

Krapp notes this form in early New England speech. (II, p. 183.)

54. [æ] for [ɜɪ]

MERCY	massy	H f 7	[mæsi]	Sus. w.Som. nw.e.Dev.
	mussy	H 15		
		P 344:		
		"Some-		
		times		
		among		
		negroes		
		lowsee		
		massy is		
		heard."		

If both [mæsi] and [masi] are genuine forms, [masi] is probably the later, formed by analogy with the other [ɜɪ]>[ʌ] forms. Krapp records [mæsi] as occurring in early New England speech. (II, pp. 168, 222, etc.) Both *pert* and *mercy*, words of French origin, developed along the lines of OE. *eor* and *ear*. (EDG 210.)

55. [æ] for [ɜɪ]

GIRL	gal	H 25	[gæɪ]	Nhp. Brks. Bck. Bdf. Hrt.
	gal	P 313		Cmb. Nrf. Suf. Ess. Ken.
				s.Sur. Sus. w.Wil. Wiegert
				gives Dev. 194, Anm. 3.
				[gɛɪ] Hmp. Wilson, p. 13.

Perry gives [gæɪɪ] and Walker [gɛɪɪ]. This form may, therefore, be a descendant of eighteenth-century standard.

56. [aɪ] for [ɜɪ]

LEARN	larn	H 9	[laɪn]	[aɪ] in many dialects distributed throughout England.
	larn	P 343		
CONCERN	consarn	P 300	[kənsaɪn]	[aɪ] in s.Nhb. n.Dur. m.Cum. n.w.Wm. ms.sw.Yks. Lan. m.Not. Lin. e.Dev. Chs. s.Stf. Der. m.Nhp. m.Shr. s.Oxf. Ess. Ken. Sus. me.Wil. Dor. w.Som. w.Cor.

VERMIN	varmint	P 386	[va:mɪnt]	[a:] in e.sw.Yks. Lin. Wm. Lan. n.Der. Not. se.Ken. Sus. Dur. m.s.Cum. War. Glo. s.Oxf. Sur. Wil. w.Som. Dev. Cor. s.Nhb. nw.Nrf. Dor. n.Stf. Lei. Suf.
HERB	yarb	P 390	[ja:ɪb]	s.Nhb. w.ms.Yks. em.se.s.-Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. War. Wor. Shr. Sus. w.Som. nw.e.Dev. [a:] in me. Wil. Cor.
EARTH	yarth	P 390 (see also 59)	[ja:θ]	e.w.Yks. Chs. Lei. e.Hrf. Brks. Som.

"Early NE. *ĕ*, of whatever origin, became *ə* during the seventeenth century, and was then lengthened to *ē*. Many words, especially French words, which were formerly pronounced with *ā* . . . are now pronounced with *ē*, written *e*. This substitution of *ē* for older *ā* was partly due to the influence of the old spelling with *e* and partly to the reintroduction of the French words at various dates, especially during the eighteenth century." (NEG 112.) Wright comments as follows on words spelled with *-ear*: "It seems pretty clear that these words must have had *ĕ* beside lengthened *ē* in ME. The *ĕ* regularly became *a* . . . as in *darth*, *arne* (*yarne*), *harde*, *larne*, *sarche*, etc. These forms died out in the standard language during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. . . ." (NEG 113.)

These forms were very common in early American speech. (See, for example, Krapp, II, p. 177.)

## THE CONSONANTS

### 57. Loss of initial [w]

WOMAN	'oman	H 4 P 281: "w initial disappears in (w)oman."	[umən]	War. Wor. Shr. Hrf. Glo. Oxf. Bck. Brk. Bdf. Suf. Ess. n.e.Ken. s.Sur. Sus. I.W. nw.w.Wil. Dor. e.sw.s.Dev. Hmp. Wilson, p. 13.
-------	-------	--	--------	---

The NED gives no standard forms without *w* later than the sixteenth century.

## 58. Loss of Medial [w]

ALWAYS	allers	H 17	[ɔ:ləs]
FORWARD	forrerɔ	H 165	[fʊrəd]
		P 281:	
		"w medial	
		is often	
		lost in	
		words com-	
		pounded	
		with	
		-wards."	

"Medial w has generally disappeared in words compounded with *ward* and *worth*." (EDG 247.) (This may, however, be merely archaic standard. See Wyld, *Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, p. 378.)

## 59. [M] for [w]

WHICH	w'ich	H 29	[wɪtʃ]
WHILST	w'ilst	H 48	[waɪlst]
WHEN	w'en	H 54	[wen]
WHAT	w'at	H 7	[wat]
WHY	w'y	H 14	[waɪ]
WHERE	whar	H 4	[Mɑɪ]
		Payne	
		gives no	
		[w] forms	

We are in some doubt as to how seriously to take Harris's transcriptions. There is considerable fluctuation in his books between wh- and w'. At the same time, there is no doubt that w occurred in earlier American speech. (See Krapp, II, pp. 244-246.) Moreover, in some other sections of the South [M] has become [w]: e.g., Sylvester Primer ("The Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va." PMLA, V, p. 195) states that in Fredericksburg, Va. "The h never disappears in the combination wh as in *Charleston, S. C. [italics mine]*."

In the modern dialects of the midlands and south of England, "initial hw has become w." (EDG 240.) These dialects had "voiceless w (written wh) . . . during the ME. period," and in the standard language this "voiceless w became voiced during the eighteenth century." (NEG 284.) Sweet states that it began "to be levelled under (w) "toward the close of the eighteenth century." (Sweet, p. 268.) We cannot, of course, interpret these statements to mean that in the dialects of the south of England [M] was

levelled under [w] at the same time as it was in the standard language, and yet it is possible that this process occurred in the dialects not much earlier than in the standard language. (See 113.)

In view of all the evidence, it seems best to regard the history of this sound in the Southern states as follows: The first immigrants brought over [ʌ] from either the standard language or the dialects. The influence of later immigrants in the eighteenth century from regions in which [ʌ] had become [w], and the influence of the literary language, particularly in such parts of the South as Charleston which maintained closer cultural relations with England than did other parts of the South, tended to impose [w]. Harris's older negroes retain some of the [w] forms.

Kurath has suggested that "the preservation of the voiceless w-sound in *wheat*, especially in the Western type [of American speech]" is perhaps due to north British influence. (*Language*, III, p. 135.) With regard to the Alabama-Georgia variants this is probably not true.

The fact (1) that the voiceless sound has been retained only in parts of the South like Charleston; (2) that the voicing to [w] occurred in the same parts of England and at approximately the same time as the loss of initial [h], and that initial [h] has not been lost in the South or elsewhere in America; and (3) that the north British treatment of final [r] and [r] before consonants—not to mention other north British characteristics—is not found in the Alabama-Georgia dialect, indicate that it is more probable that [ʌ] in this dialect is an older south British rather than a north British treatment. Kurath himself in a later work seems to have come to this opinion. (See his article in *Modern Philology*, XXV, p. 386.)

#### 60. Addition of initial [j]

HERB	yarb	P 390	[jaɪb]	s.Nhb. w.ms.Yks. em.se.s.- Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. War. se.Wor. Shr. Sus. w.Som. nw.e.Dev.
EARTH	yeth	H 12	[jæθ]	ne.Yks. Chs. Oxf.
	earf	H 22	[ɜɪf]	
	yearth	P 390	[jæθ]	Dur. Cum. Wm. nw.w.Yks. n.Lan. Chs. Stf. n.Lin. Suf. Shr. Nrf. Hmp. Wil. e.w.Yks. Chs. Lei. e.Hrf. Brks. Som.
	yarth	P 390	[jaɪθ]	

The various transcriptions perhaps point to fluctuation or perhaps to difficulty in analyzing the sound precisely. It is an interesting coincidence that there seems a greater variety of pronunciations of this word among the British dialects than any other which Wright gives. [j] forms are widely distributed through England and Scotland. The NED records the form *yearth* for *earth* as late as the seventeenth century.

HERE	yer	H 23 P not listed	[jʌi]	Hrf. Glo. nm.Brks. w.Som. Dev. [j] added in Hmp. Wilson, p. 14.
EAR	year year	H 4 P 390	[jɜː]	se.Lan. s.Oxf. Sus. Cor. Also Hmp. Wilson, p. 14. Also Wil. Kjedervist, 214, 2. [j] added in Dev. Wiegert, 200, Anm. 1.

"Initial (j) . . . represents the first part of a diphthong, originally beginning with i, which became a consonant when the diphthong turned into a rising diphthong." (Kruisinga, Sec. 261.)

Krapp states that "The development of an initial [j] before *e* followed by *r* is occasionally recorded, but was probably always limited to popular or dialectal use." (II, p. 184.) Most of his examples are from Virginia and Georgia, though he gives instances of such forms in New England and elsewhere.

#### 61. Loss of initial [j]

YEAST	1st	P 308	[iɪst]	Sus. Loss of [j] in Dor. snw.- Yks. n.s.Lin. s.Oxf. Loss of [j] in <i>yet</i> , <i>yes</i> , <i>ye</i> , Dev. Wiegert, 233.
-------	-----	-------	--------	---

Krapp notes a number of earlier American forms such as [jest] and [jɜːst] but none which drops the initial [j]. (See II, pp. 102, 104.) Walker (1791) pronounced the word as [jest]. (Krapp, II, 104. But "Walker mentions a vulgar form *east* for *yeast*." (Ekwall, p. CCLXIII.) Jones (1701) seems to indicate [iɪst]. (Ekwall, p. CXIII.) Ekwall is inclined to consider Jones's pronunciation as a southwest country provincialism.

#### 62. [tʃ] for [tj]; [dʒ] for [dj]

TUESDAY	chuseday	H 146	[tʃuɪsdi]	Ayr. Lan. Stf. Der. Shr. s.Sur. w.Sus. w.Wil.
	chewsday	P 298		[tʃ] in w.Som.

TUNE	chune	H 133	[tʃu:n]	Not in Wright's Index.
	chune	P 299		
DEW	jew	H 188	[dʒu:]	[dʒ] in Stf. s.Som. Inv. Lan.
		P not listed		I.Ma. n.Der. Chs.
DUBIOUSLY	jub'usly	H 4	[dʒu:bəs]	Not in Wright's Index.
	jubous	P 325		

These pronunciations may, however, have been derived from earlier standard English. (See Krapp, II, p. 234 ff.) Moreover, Wright (NEG 185) points out that the normal development of [tj] is [tʃ], forms like *Tuesday*, *tune*, being due to the influence of the spelling; and that the normal development of [dj] is [dʒ]. "Through the influence of the spelling we now generally have dj (di), but in the eighteenth century dʒ was common in many or all of the words which now have dj (di), as *duke*, *India*, *odious*, &c."

## 63. [nj] for [n]

GNAW	gnyaw	H 109	[njɔ:]	Not in Wright's Index.
	P not listed			

Whereas Payne's failure to give this variant somewhat weakens the case for believing that it is genuine, Harris derives some support from Thomas Nelson Page who gives a similar transcription. (See *In Ole Virginia*, *Plantation Edition*, Scribner's, 1912, p. 18.) Wright gives no instances of such a pronunciation in the English dialects, and no instances of such a form occur in earlier standard. Page perhaps gives the clue to the origin of such a variant (if it is genuine) by citing forms such as *dȳar* for *there*, *fȳar* for *fair*, *spȳar* for *spare*, etc. Though Page is not always consistent in giving such forms, their frequent occurrence may be taken to indicate a glide often developed before back vowels. With no more than our present evidence, however, the form [njɔ:] must be held rather doubtful.

## 64. [t] for [tj]

CREATURE	creetȳr	H 16	[kri:tə]
	critter	P 302	[kri:tə]

"The t in French words which has become tʃ in literary English through the influence of the following ü has remained unchanged in the dialects." (EDG 285.)

The NED gives forms pointing to [kri:tə] only as "dial." or "colloq." after the seventeenth century.

## 65. [tj] for [t]

OYSTER	oistʃə	P 355	[ɔɪstʃə]	No such form recorded by Wright.
--------	--------	-------	----------	----------------------------------

This form is probably to be explained as the result of hyperurbanization. (See 64.)

#### 66. Palatal [k], [g]

GARDEN	gyarden	H 5	[gja:ɔɪn]
CARVING	kyarvin	H 6	[kjaɪvɪn]
Harris cites many such forms. P 281: "The in- trusive y in gyardin, gyirl, kyar, is only heard sporadi- cally."			

Palatal g and palatal k arose in the early seventeenth century. Both disappeared in the nineteenth, but are still preserved in some dialects. (See NEG 260, 266.) In view of the widespread occurrence of palatal g and palatal k in the standard language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one can hardly submit their occurrence in modern Southern speech as evidence of the influence of the English dialects. The fact that they occur more frequently in the speech of the negro is to be accounted for (1) as due to the perfectly natural attempt of a dialect writer to give more flavor to the speech of "Uncle Remus," and (2) as due to the more conservative character of the speech of the negro. This case, where the negro persists in keeping what can be clearly proved an earlier form after the whites have dropped it, throws considerable light on Payne's "negroisms" some of which, in his words, are "rapidly gaining ground among the whites."

#### 67. Loss of [l]

HELP	he'p	H 173	[hep]	s.Chs. omits the [l].
SELF	se'f	H 4	[sef]	n.Ken. Dor. omit [l]. Loss of [l] Wil., when <i>self</i> is in weak position, KJederqvist, 204, 2, c.
P 281: "l medial disappears in amost, aready, sef, hep, etc."				

"Medial l has often disappeared, especially in the combinations ld, lf, lh, lk, lp, ls, and lt." (EDG 253.)



## 68. [l] for [r]

FLAIL	frail	H f 115	[fleil]	“ <i>flail</i> has become <i>frail</i> by dissimilation in Sc. Dur. Yks. Chs. Not. Lei. Nhp. Brks. Nrf. Suf. Ken. Sus. I.W. Wil. Som.” EDG 252.
	frail	P 281		

Krapp does not mention this variant.

## 69. Addition of [l]

MAW	maul	H 168	[mɔil]	Not in Wright's Index.
		P not listed		
HAW	hall	P 318	[hɔil]	None.

Does the form [mɔil] arise by confusion with *maul*? Payne's form for *haw* would seem to indicate that Harris's form is genuine and that inorganic [l] may be added to such words as a general rule. Krapp does not mention these variants. They do not seem to have occurred in earlier standard and Wright gives no hint of such a development in the modern dialects of England.

Ekwall (*Jones's Practical Phonography*, p. CCLXXV) points out that “In a good many words of French origin an *l* has been inserted between *au*, sometimes also *ou*, and a following consonant. Such words are *fault*, *soldier*, etc. This phenomenon has been dealt with by Luick, *Anglia* 16, p. 476 ff., who is of the opinion that the insertion of *l* was an analogical process. The interchange of forms like [sɔt] and [sɔlt] for *salt* and similar words has called forth a pronunciation [fɔlt] interchanging with [fɔt] for *fault*, etc.” This does not help us with the variants given above which have the addition of *l* not before a final consonant. It is possible that they too, however, are the result of an analogical process. Since *a* before *l* became [ɔ:] with loss of *l* in many of the dialects in which careful pronunciation has restored it, *l* may have been wrongfully added to these two words. The NED gives both *mall* and *maw* forms of an obsolete word meaning a game at cards. (See *maw*, sb. 4.) This is, of course, not our word, but it may represent a fluctuation which went on in earlier English in certain words of this type between [-ɔ:] and [-ɔil] forms.

## 70. Metathesis of [r]

CREATION	keration	H 236	[kire:ʃən]
PERSPIRE	prespire	P 359	[prispaɪ]
PROFESSOR	perfesser	P 356	[pəfəsə]

"r has often undergone metathesis, especially in the south-western dialects." (EDG 263.)

### 71. Early loss of [r]

The treatment of [r] in the Southern States corresponds in general to that of the standard language. The chief differences seem to be an earlier loss of [r] before [s] and [ʃ] and other consonants than that which took place in the standard language, a loss resulting in forms such as:

HARSH	h'ash	H f 46
HORSE	hoss	H f 174
SCARCE	skase	H 12
HEARTH	ha'th	H 72

Wright would locate this earliest weakening of [r] in "the southern parts of England." (NEG 189.)

### 72. Loss of [r] as a result of metathesis.

BARREL	bairl	H 103	[bæəl]	[baəl] I.W. sw.Dev. [ba:l]
	bar'l	H f 326		Nhb. Suf. se.Ken. s.Sur. Sus.
SHERIMP	s'imp	H 221	[sɪmp]	n.Lin. [semp] in se.Yks.
FROM	fum	H 4	[fəm]	Not in Wright's Index. [fəm]
	fum	P 313		Wil. Kjederqvist, 31.
THROAT	th'oat	H 49	[θo:t]	None.
THRESH	th'ash	H 53	[θæʃ]	None.
MON-STROUS	monstus	H 4	[manstəs]	Not in Wright's Index.
CHILDREN	childun	H 193	[tʃɪldən]	Lin. Lei. Nhp. Wor. Shr.
	tʃɪldern	P 283		Cmb. Oxf. Suf. e.Sus. Wil.
				Som. e.Dor. e.nw.Dev.

Payne, 281, comments: "Whole syllables containing r disappear, as comftabl, tolabl, difənt, seval, considabl, Saedi."

[r] is completely lost in words like *from*, *secret*, *apron*, etc., in Wiltshire. See Kjederqvist, 15.

### 73. Svarabhakti

ELM	ellum	P 308	[eləm]	Frf. Per. em.wm.Sc. Kcb. Ant.
				s.Nhb. n.Dur. Cum. Yks.
				nw.Lan. s.Stf. nw.s.Lin. Lei.
				s.War. nw.Oxf. Bck. Cmb.
				e.Ken. s.Sur. e.w.Sus. I.W.
				Dor. s.Som. e.sw.Dev. [-əm]
				forms in s.Sc. e.Suf. se.Ken.
				w.Som. n.Oxf.

## 74. [m] for medial [n]

BY AND BY	bimeby	H 4	[baimbar]	Not in Wright's Index.
CRAN-	cramberry	P 302	[kræmbert]	Not in Wright's Index.
BERRY				

"In Brks. Hmp. and sw.Cy. medial n has become m before or after a labial." (EDG 267.)

With regard to *by and by* one needs only to remark that in the sw. counties [d] would be lost (see 98) leaving [n] in what amounts, in a phrase such as this, to medial position before a labial.

## 75. [m] for final [n]

ELEVEN	leb'm	H 38	[lebm]
	'lev'm	H 194	[levm]
SEVEN	sev'm	H 193	[sevm]
TAVERN	tavvum	H 146	[tævm]
HEAVEN	he'v'm(ly)	H 193	[hev m]

Payne, 282, says "n has become vocalic m after p or b as in cap-m somp-m, hap-m, op-m, heb-m, seb-m, leb-m."

"In the northern and south-western dialects, and also often in those of the midlands, n has become vocalic m after labials by assimilation." (EDG 269.)

## 76. [m] for final [n]

ROSIN	rozzum	H 186	[razəm]	Not in Wright's Index.
	rozum	P 364		The NED notes <i>rosum</i> in the <i>West Cornwall Glossary</i> . See <i>rosin</i> , sb.
RIND	rime(s)	H 250	[raim]	Not in Wright's Index.
	rine	P 363	[rain]	

[razəm] for *rosin* is probably authentic. Krapp, II, 229, notes in the *Watertown Records* (1649) *Passam* for *Parson*. [raim], on the other hand, is more than suspect. Not only does Payne fail to support Harris's transcription, but Harris transcribes *blind* as *blin'*, *wind*, as *win'*, *behind* as *behine*, etc. (See 98.)

## 77. Addition of inorganic [n]

UNICORN	nunicorn	H 22	[nju:nɪkɔɪn]
ORATE	norate	P 352	[no:reit]

"In the various dialects there is a large number of words which have an inorganic initial n." (EDG 266.)

## 78. [n] for [ŋ]

Throughout Harris's works, final *-ing* is given as *-in'*.

Payne, 282, makes the following statement: "ŋ has become n in unstressed syllables, particularly in final *-ing*."

"Guttural ŋ from older ŋg became dental n in final unaccented syllables in early NE., as is evidenced by such early spellings as *fardin*, *standyn*, for *farthing*, *standing*, and conversely *chicking*, *gudging* for *chicken*, *gudgeon*; and by all the modern dialects . . . through the influence of spelling the guttural ŋ began to be restored again in the early part of the nineteenth century. . . ." (NEG 205.)

## 79. [ŋ] for [nj]

ONION	ingun(s)	H 103	[ɪŋən]	Inv. ne.Sc. w.Frf. e.Per.
	ingun	P 323		wm.Sc. s.Ayr. Kcb. Glo. Bdf. s.Sur. Sus. Kruisinga gives this also for w.Som. [ŋ] in s.Sc. ne.sm.Sc. n.Dev. Lth. Edb. Feb.

## 80. [k] for [p]

TURPEN- TINE	turken- time	H 7 P not listed	[tɜ:kɪntaɪm]	Not in Wright's Index.
-----------------	-----------------	---------------------	--------------	------------------------

Wright gives no instances of [p] having become [k]. If such a form occurred in negro speech, it would seem to be a result of a confusion with other words—perhaps with *turkey*. It is to be observed that Payne here fails to support Harris.

## 81. [b] for [p]

TRIPLE*	thrible	P 381	[θɹɪbl]	Not in Wright's Index.
BAPTIZING	babtizin'	H 123 P 282: "p has be- come vo- calized in Babtis', etc."	[bæbtɪz]	wm.Sc. n.counties, Midlands.

[bæbtɪz] may be archaic standard. Jones (1701) gives [b] for [p] in *baptism*. (Ekwall's ed., p. CCLXXXIX.) The second [b] may be

\* Payne states that *thrible* represents *treble* v., but it seems to me more likely that it represents *triple*. *triple* is used almost invariably in the South—whereas *treble* is rarely heard. The [θ] probably represents the influence of *three*.

due to the influence of the initial [b]. Such assimilation can hardly account for the [b] in [θrɪbl], however.

It is possible, however, that [b] in *baptism* represents a provincialism in Jones's speech. If so, Ekwall would consider it probably one of his several southwest country provincialisms.

"The change *t* > *d*, . . . seems to be more common in the S. W. than elsewhere, and only in the S. W. dialects have we found *t* pronounced as a lenis. It is to be expected that the analogous changes of *p* and *k* took place especially in the same dialects. The material taken from the dialects does not point very distinctly to the S. W. as the chief home of the change. Still, of the examples a good many are from there.—A statement in Marshall's *Rural Economy 1787* (Engl. Dial. Soc. 1) p. 56, gives some slight support to our hypothesis. It says that in 'Glocestershire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, &c., the Asperate consonants are pronounced with Vocal Positions: thus *s* becomes *z*; *f*, *v*; *p*, *b*, &c.' But as no examples are given, it is impossible to decide what this statement really means and whether it is trustworthy.—As Jones often gives pronunciations that must have been S. W. provincialisms, it may well be that his *b*, *d*, *g* for *p*, *t*, *k* are also to be looked upon as such. The fact that such pronunciations are rarely mentioned by other ortheopists renders it likely that they were provincialisms, and then it is more likely that they were S. W. than other ones." p. CCXCVI.

One notes that in the closely related dialect of Virginia there is "A general tendency to substitute voiced or sonant *b* for voiceless *p* . . . in the speech of the uneducated at the present time." (Shewmake, *The English Language in Virginia*, p. 17.)

## 82. Addition of [b]

CHIMNEY	chimibly	H 52	[tʃɪmbli]	Not in Wright's Index, but the EDD gives -bl forms for the following counties: Hmp. Cor. Lan. Chs. Hrf. Ant. Glo. Brks. Sur. I.W. Not. Nhp. War. Nrf. Cmb. Dor. Urlau, 40. [tʃɪmlɪ] Dev. Wiegert, 254.
	chim(b)ly	P 298		

The NED indicates the following forms for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the note "(also dial.)": "chimlie, -ley, -ly, chumley, -lay. Also dial. & vulgar *chimibly*."

## 83. Loss of [f]

AFTER	arter	H 4	[aɪtə]
	atter	H 5	[ætə]
	aetə or	P 288:	
	ātə	"heard chiefly among negroes."	

"f has disappeared before t in *ātə(r)* after in the eastern, midland, southern, and south-western counties." (EDG 279.)

## 84. [v] for [f]

FEND	vence or	P 386	[vens]	Not in Wright's Index.
	vance		[væns]	

"A term used in marbles, to prevent an opponent from an advantage, or to prevent oneself from suffering a disadvantage or penalty. *Fend* is not used so far as I know." (Payne, p. 386.)

"In the southern and south-western counties . . . and in parts of Hrf. Pem. Glo. Brks., initial f must have become v at a very early period. . . ." (EDG 278.)

The NED gives for *fen*, v<sup>2</sup>: "[Usually taken to be a corruption of *fend* v.] *trans.* To forbid . . . a prohibitory exclamation, used chiefly by boys at marbles, etc., in order to balk, bar, or prevent some action on the part of another." The quotations which the NED gives indicate that the v in this word is probably to be traced to the south country voicing of initial spirants, for the quotation from a Suffolk source gives *fen*, but the quotation from *Bersh. Gloss (Berkshire Glossary)* gives v: "*ven*. 'If one player says " 'ven knuckledown' " this means that his opponent must shoot his marble without resting his hand on the ground.'"

For the form *vance*, see 8.

Krapp does not mention this variant, though he remarks on the absence of v < f forms in America. Some such forms must have been brought over, for many immigrants must have come from the southern counties, but if they were brought over they must have died out rapidly. Obviously, a term handed down from one generation of small boys to another and protected from the influence of spelling would offer the best conditions for a v-form to survive.

## 85. [v] for [b]

MARBLE	marvel	P 348	[marvl]	[v] "in almost all dialects." EDG 276.
--------	--------	-------	---------	---

Krapp does not mention this variant. It is used by Mark Twain.

## 86. [b] for [v]

SEVEN	sebm	P 282	[sebm]	"v has become b through the influence of a following . . . n" <sup>1</sup> in <i>seven</i> , <i>eleven</i> s.Dur. w.Cum. Wm. nw.Lan. Rut. w.War. e.Oxf. n.Bck.Hnt. s.Sur. w.Sus. me.w.Wil. s.w.Som. Dev. in <i>heaven</i> Wm. e.Oxf. me.w.-Wil. w.Som. nw.e.Dev. EDG 279.
ELEVEN	leb'm	H 38	[leb'm]	
	'lev'm	H 194		
	lebm	P 282		
HEAVEN	hebm	P 282	[hebm]	"v has become b through the influence of a following l . . ." in <i>navel</i> e.Yks. Lan. I.Ma. s.Stf. n.Der. Oxf. Nrf. Suf, EDG 279.
NAVEL	nabel	P 351	[ne:bl]	

## 87.

RIVET	ribet	P 282	[rɪbrɪt]	[b] in Dur. Cum. Yks. s.Wor. Not in Wright's Index.
CULVERT	culbert	P 282	[kʌlbət]	

## 88.

LIVE	lib	P 282	[lɪb]	no [b] forms in Wright.
LOVE	lub	P 282	[lʌb]	no [b] forms in Wright.

*navel*, the one case which Wright gives of [v] > [b] through the influence of [l], already had [b] forms at a very early period. See NED. There seems to be no reason why [v] should become [b] because of the influence of [l]. [b] occurs in *navel*, therefore, perhaps for the same reason that it occurs in *rivet*, because of intervocalic position. It is possible that this is the explanation of the [b] in *live*, *love*, [v] having become [b] in such forms as *living*, *loving*, etc., where it stood in medial position.

Whereas it is quite possible that the variants given in 88 owe nothing to the English dialects, one notes that all the other [v] > [b] changes which Wright gives in his EDG are located in the south-west: OE. *efeta* (*newt*) has become [ɛbət] in w.Som. Dev. Cor., and *curve* and *valve* have a final [b] in w.Som.

## 89. [k] for [t]

TURTLE	turkle	H f 174	[tʰɜːkl]	Not in Wright's Index.
	turkle	P 384:		
		"a negro- ism."		

Wright does give a few instances of [t] > [k], but unfortunately none that prove any regular development. He notes [k] in *brittle* in Hmp. (Kruisinga also gives this for w.Som.), and in *little* in se.Lan. and Shr. EDG 283. [lɪkl] may have been influenced by *mickle*, however, and [brɪkl] may go back to O.E. *brykel*.

The NED records a form *turckell* in the fifteenth century, but since the passage in which this form occurs is not quoted, it is impossible to ascertain in what part of England it occurred.

Possible parallels to the development of [t] in this variant are offered by *huckleberry* which the NED conjectures to be a corruption of *hurtleberry* or *whortleberry*, and *muckle* for *myrtle* in the Gullah dialect of South Carolina.

## 90. [d] for medial [t], [tt]

This is a change which commonly goes unnoticed in the South. This must account for Harris's failure to notice it.

Payne also fails to notice it, but the forms of a few words which he comments on for other reasons show that it must occur in this dialect. It is very common in Tennessee.

SHUT	shed	P 368:	[ʃɛd]
		"rid. 'I couldn't get <i>shed</i> of him.' Also <i>shet</i> ."	
SATURDAY	sadday	P 365	[sædi]
LIGHT- WOOD	lideder, lighterd	P 345	[laɪdəd]

"Between vowels and vowel-like consonants t has become d . . . . This change seems to have been carried out more fully in the south-western dialects than elsewhere." (EDG 283.)

Wright notes [d] forms of:

<i>after</i>	Som. e.Dev.
<i>better</i>	Sus. w.s.Som.
<i>bitter</i>	s.Som. e.Dev.
<i>bottle</i>	w.Som.
<i>butter</i>	w.s.Som. e.Dev.



<i>kettle</i>	I.Ma. s.Sur. w.Sus. Wil. e.Dor. Som. e.Dev. Also Hmp. Wilson, p. 17.
<i>little</i>	I.Ma. s.Pem. Suf. Ess. e.Ken. Sus. Dor. Som. Dev.
<i>nettle</i>	Sus. n.Dev.
<i>Saturday</i>	Wor. Suf. s.Sur. Sus. w.Wil. Dor. w.Som. Dev.

This change must have gone through in the southwest dialects by the time of the emigration to America. (See Ekwall's ed. of Jones's *Practical Phonography* (1701), p. CCLXXXVIII ff., p. XXXIX ff. Compare with 81.)

## 91. Loss of [t] after [f]

SOFT	sof'	H 197	[sæf]	Loss of [t] in I.Ma. w.Som.
	sof	P 282	[soɪf]	Loss of [t] in Dor. Urlau, 35.
LOFT	lɒf	P 282	[lɒɪf]	Loss of [t] in I.Ma. w.Som Dor. e.Dev.
LEFT	lef'	H 28	[lef]	Loss of [t] in s.Nhb. n.Dur. I.Ma. Dor.w.s.Som. e.Dev.

"Loss of t after f occurs chiefly in I.Ma. and sw.Cy., as *drif(t)*, *lif(t)*, *wef(t)*, etc." (EDG 295.)

Krapp does not cite such variants.

## 92. Loss of [t] in the combination [st]

GHOST	ghos'	H 99	[go:s]	Loss of [t] in e.Dev. I.Ma. w.Som.
LAST	las'	H 9	[læs]	Loss of [t] in se.Yks. I.Ma. w.Suf. Ess. w.e.Som. Dev. s.Nrf. m.Shr. Dor.
NEXT	nex'	H 58	[neks]	Loss of [t] in e.Suf. se.Ken- w.Dor. w.Som. s.Nhb. n.Dur. Lan. I.Ma. Chs. wm.s.Stf. Der. nw.Lin. n.Lei. m.Nhp. m.Bck. Bdf. se.Hrt. ne.Cmb. s.Nrf. w.Suf. e.Sus. sm.Hmp. nw.w.Wil. e.Dor. e.Som. n.s.- Dev.
COAST	coas'	H 13	[ko:s]	Not in Wright's Index.
TASTE	tas'e	H 81	[te:s]	Loss of [t] in w.Som. I.Ma.
WASTE	was'e	H 74	[we:s]	Loss of [t] in Dor. w.Som. I.Ma.

FIRST	fus'	H 16 P 282: "Final t disappears after voice- less conso- nants."	[fʌs]	Loss of [t] in Rut. s.War w.Som. nw.Wil. e.Dev. I.Ma.
-------	------	--	-------	--

"Final t has disappeared in many dialects after voiceless consonants especially in the combination st." (EDG 295.)

Whereas the counties which give loss of t are widely scattered in the case of some words, it may be noted that the south and southwest counties are represented in all instances, and in some instances only the south and southwest counties.

### 93. Loss of [t] after [k]

ACT	ack	H 9	[æk]	w.Som. Kruisinga.
FACT	fac	P 282	[fæk]	w.Som. Kruisinga.

"... finally after k and p it [t] has disappeared in all Scottish dialects." (EDG 295.) Urlau indicates loss of [t] in *protect* in Dor. 35. Wiegert indicates loss of [t] in *exactly*, *actually*, *directly* in Dev. 239.

### 94. [ð] for medial [d]

LADDER	lather	H 245 P not listed	[læðə]	[ð] in Nrf. Ken. Dor. nw.Som. sw.Yks. Lan. Chs. War. Wor. Stf. Lei. Nhp. Shr. Glo. Oxf. I.Ma. e.Sus. s.Nhb. Dur. Not. Lin. Rut. Sc.
--------	--------	-----------------------	--------	---

The NED gives th-forms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Though Payne does not contradict Harris here, his failure to corroborate him somewhat weakens the case for the authenticity of this form.

### 95. Loss of [d] medial

CANDLE	cannle caenl	H 65 P 282	[kænɫ]	
DWINDLE	dwinl	P 282	[dwɪnɫ]	
BUNDLE	bunl	P 282	[bʌnɫ]	"Medial d very seldom occurs in any of the dialects between n-l or n-r. EDG 300.

Krapp and Heil do not mention such variants.

## 96. Insertion of [d]

CORNER	cornder	H 5	[kɔ:ndə]	w.Som. Dev.
	cornder	P 301:		
		"A negro-ism."		

"In the south-west dialects a d has been developed between l-r, r-l, n-r." (EDG 298.)

Krapp and Heil do not mention this variant.

## 97. Loss of final [d] after [l]

WORLD	worrl	H 72	[wɜ:rl]
GOLD	gole	H 104	[go:l]
TOLD	tole	H 56	[to:l]
BALD	ball	H 151	[bo:l]
HOLD	hol'	H 14	[ho:l]

"Final d is usually lost after l . . ." (Payne, 282.)

"Final d has often disappeared after l, especially in Scotland (except in the southern counties), Isle of Man and the south-western counties." (EDG 307.)

## 98. Loss of final [d] after [n]

WIND	win'	H 88	[wɪn]
BLIND	bline	H 174	[blɪn]
HAND	han'	H f 38	[hæn]
ROUND	roun'	H 6	[raʊn]
FIND	fine	H 5	[faɪn]
FRIEND	fren(s)	H 4	[frɪns]
STAND	stan'	H 15	[stæn]

"Final d is usually lost after . . . n." (Payne, 282.)

"Final d has generally disappeared after n in Scotland, but in the southern counties of Scotland it has only disappeared in the conjunction *and*, the present participles, and in the preterite and past participles of strong verbs whose present ends in -nd. . . . Otherwise final d is seldom dropped in the north and north midland counties. In the I.Ma. Glo.w.Brks. w.Hmp. and the sw. counties final d has generally disappeared after n." (EDG 307.)

## 99. [d] for initial [ð]

THEY	dey	H 5	[deɪ]
THIS	dis	H 8	[dɪs]
THE	de	H 5	[diɪ]
THAT	dat	H 6	[dæt]
THEN	den	H 5	[dɛn]
THERE	dar	H 5	[dæɹ']
THOUGH	dough	H 37	[doɪ]

"So also *dis, dat, dem, den, dere*, etc. These forms have not been entered because they are so distinctive of the negro dialect. The use of these forms is rapidly increasing among the white people, however." (Payne, 304.)

"In pronouns and the adverbs derived from them the dialects have generally had the same development as the literary language. But in Sh. and Or.I., Pem. *obsol.*, Ken. *obsol.*, Sus. the initial *ð* has become d." (EDG 311.)

Kruisinga also gives *de* for *the* in w.Som.

It will be noticed that the Alabama-Georgia dialect also changes [ð] to [d] only in the case of "the pronouns and the adverbs derived from them." This similarity can hardly be regarded as accidental. If the change from [ð] to [d] were the result of the negro's inability to form [ð] or to any other such reasons, we should expect this change to extend beyond the class of words above indicated. If Harris is correct and consistent in his transcriptions, "Uncle Remus" could form [ð] (lather, 94) and [θ] (thank H f 345). Certainly the whites who give the variants cited above by Payne could form both [θ] and [ð].

#### 100. [d] for medial [ð]

FEATHERS	fedders	H 98	[fedəz]
WEATHER	wedder	H 8	[wedə]
NEITHER	nudder	H 7	[nʌdə]
BOTHER	bodder	H 23	[bədə]
OTHER	udder	H 10	[ʌdə]
	yuther	H 127	[jʌðə]

"ð in all positions has, under negro influence, largely become d, as in udder, fudder, wid, di (they or the) dis, etc." (Payne, 282.)

"Intervocalic ð followed by r in the next syllable has generally remained in the dialects, but it has become (1) d beside dð in n.Cum. Wm. nnw.snw.Yks. n.s.Lan. I.Ma. (2) d in Sh. & Or.I. ne.sn.Sc. Lth. Nh.b. s.Dur. e.m.w.Cum. m.Yks. ne.nw.m.Lan. nw.Lin. n.se.Ken. s.Sur. Sus." (EDG 314.)

Urlau records [d] in *further, farthest* in Dor. 36. Wiegert records [d] in *further, farthing* in Dev. 245. Kjederqvist records [d] in *smother* for Wil. 196, 2. Kruisinga records [d] in *farther, farthing* in w.Som. Sec. 360.

#### 101. Loss of medial [ð]

WHETHER	wherrerr	H f 343	[Mʌ]	In . . . <i>whether</i> , Wil. Dor. Som.
	wher	P 282:		the ð was probably lost at an
		"(ð) is lost		early period; cf. ME. wher."

in wher  
(whether)  
among  
careless  
speakers."

EDG 314. Wiegert gives  
[wær] in Dev. 176, Ann. 4.

## 104. [d] for [ð]

## 102. [f] for final [θ] after a vowel; [v] for final [ð] after a vowel

CLOTH	cloff	H 29	[klo:f]
BOTH	bofe	H 59	[bo:f]
BREATH	breaff	H 58	[brɛ:f]
TOOTH	toof	H 97	[tu:f]
MOUTH	mouf	H 4	[mau:f]
P 350:			
"A negro-			
ism rapidly			
gaining			
ground			
among the			
whites."			
SMOOTH	smoove	H 111	[smu:v]

Wright instances only *bōf* for *both* in I.Ma. But Kruisinga (Sec. 361) gives final [f] in *cloth*, *tooth*, *mouth*, and both [v] and [ð] in *breathe* for w.Som.

Wyld has collected a number of variant spellings which indicate that [θ] became [f], [ð] became [v] in all positions. (p. 291.) Whether or not these changes are to be associated with a particular region or are to be regarded merely as individualisms, Wyld's variants indicate that the changes sometimes occurred in London and the region around it from the fifteenth century through the eighteenth.

## 103. [t] for final [θ] after [n] and [r]

MONTH	mont'	H 106	[mant]	e.Sus. Kruisinga gives [t] forms for <i>seventh</i> and <i>plinth</i> in w.Som. [t] in <i>month</i> , Wil. Kjderqvist, 197, 4.
		P 350:		
		"Chiefly		
		among the		
		negroes."		
GIRTH	gert, girt	P 314	[gɜ:t]	Not in Wright's Index. w.Som. Kruisinga, Sec. 362. Dev Wiegert, 245.

The NED records *girt* as a variant of *girth* used "chiefly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Krapp does not mention these variants.

## 104. [d] for [ð]

WITH	wid	H 4 P 282	[wɪd]	Cum. Wm. Yks. Hrf. se.Ken. Sus. "When the next word begins with a vowel." EDG 317.
UNDER- NEATH	underneed	H 160	[nɪd]	Wright records no <i>d</i> -forms.

Payne's failure to support Harris specifically with regard to *underneath* somewhat weakens the case for the authenticity of this form.

The fact that [ð] > [d] in *with* only before a vowel, and in the same dialects in which medial [ð] > [d], would indicate that *with* becomes *wid* by the [ð] coming to be accounted in medial position. If *underneed* is genuine, it seems likely that it arises in the same way.

## 105.

STRENGTH	strenk	H 53 P not listed	[strenk]	None
----------	--------	----------------------	----------	------

Here again Payne fails to support Harris.  
Krapp and Heil do not give this variant.

## 106. [ʃ] for final [s]

SLICES	alish(es) alish	H 251 P 371: "slice, n. A wedge- shaped cut of water- melon. Some- times <i>slish</i> ."	[ʃaɪʃ]	Not in Wright's Index.
HEARSE	hɛrʃ	P 283	[hɜ:ʃ]	"This change of s to ʃ is very common in the s.Sc. dialects." EDG 329.
LICORICE	lic(o)-rish	P 345	[lɪkɪʃ]	sw. Yks. w. Som.

The NED records *sh*-forms for *licorice* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Krapp records a number of such variants in the early New England records (II, p. 231 ff.), among them *overplush* for *overplus*.

*non-plush* for *nonplus* occurs in w.Som. (See Kruisinga, Sec. 366.)

Wyld (p. 291-292) states that "This isolative change does not appear to be widespread, but I include it because I find that I have a few early examples noted among my collections, and it is referred to as a vulgarism by Elphinston in the eighteenth century. This fact makes it probable that the early forms mean something, and are not mere scribal vagaries.

"The following are the examples I have noted:—R. of Brunne, Handlyng Sinne, 1302, *reioshe* 'rejoice,' 2032, *vasshelage*, 4610; Bokenam, 1443, *vertush*, Ann. 248, *mossh* 'moss,' Ann. 360, *reioys-shyng* 'rejoicing,' Agn. 401, *dysshese* 'disease,' Agn. 614; Engl. Register of Oseney, 1460, *blesshyng*, p. 13; M. Paston, a powter *vesshell*, ii. 75, 1461; Caxton, *kysshed* 'kissed,' Jason 85.35; Machyn has *the prynche of Spaine*, 51, 52, 66; Henslow's Diary (1598), *Henslow*, 213; Sir J. Leake, Verney Mem., *burgishes* 'burgesses,' ii. 218, 1645; Lady Lambton, *hushband*, Basire Corresp. 79 (1649); Mrs. Basire, *parshalles*, 111 (1653); 'touch'd a gall'd beast till he *winch'd*,' Congreve's Old Batchelor, Act v, Sc. xiii (1693)."

The change occurred, at least sporadically, therefore, in London and the counties around it to the south and east. We need not then, because the change seems most frequent in the dialects of south Scotland, according to Wright, commit ourselves to Scotland as the source of the variant in the Southern states. Moreover, if the frequency of such forms in s.Scotland argues for Scottish influence in Alabama and Georgia, it argues for such influence in New England as well, and in the early period of New England neither Krapp nor Heil makes allowance for such influence. We need not commit ourselves to such a source for these forms in the South, therefore. The fact that several such forms occur in the southern counties of England allows us to consider this area—the source of so many Alabama-Georgia variants—as a possible source of these [ʃ] forms also.

#### 107. [tʃ] for [s]

RINSE	rench	P 363	[rentʃ]	Sc. n.Ire. n.Cy. Der. Lin. Lei. War. Shr. Hnt. Dev.
-------	-------	-------	---------	--

The NED records forms such as *rensch*, *rench* as late as the seventeenth century.

Krapp points out that Sherwood gives *rench* for *rinse* as a Georgia provincialism in 1837. Krapp accounts for this form by

analogy to *wrench*. (II, p. 119.) But the presence of such a form in the English dialects and in earlier standard English makes the appeal to analogy unnecessary.

## 108. [d] for [z]

ISN'T	[ɪdnt]	Dor. Som. w.Cor. Dev. Wiegert, 246. Hmp. Wilson, p. 13.
WASN'T	[wɒdnt]	Dor. Som. w.Cor. Dev. Wiegert, 246. wɒdn Wil. Kjederqvist, 194, 1, c.

Though neither Payne nor Harris vouches for these forms, they are given because they occur over large areas of the South—I have heard them in Tennessee and in central Louisiana—and because of the interesting development of [z]. Whether they occur in central Georgia or not, they would seem to emanate from the same source as many of the variants which Payne gives, for it is not likely that a sound change so rare in English should have developed independently on both sides of the Atlantic. The fact that the pronunciation with [d] is so rarely noticed by the speaker would account for the failure of Payne and Harris to notice it. (See 18.)

## 109. [g] for [k]

CHOCK-FULL	chug-full	P 299	[tʃʌg]	Not in Wright's Index.
------------	-----------	-------	--------	------------------------

For the possibility that this variant finds its source in the south-west counties, see Ekwall's edition of *Jones*, p. CCXCVI. The passage is quoted in Section 81 of this study.

## 110. [ʃ] for [sk]

TUSK	tush(es)	H f 173	[tʌʃ]	Forms with [ʃ] in Sc. m.Bck. Cmb. Sus. Cor. Wm. Yks. Lan. Chs. Stf. Der. Not. Lin. Rut. Lei. Nhp. Wor. Cum. Shr. Glo. Brks. Hnt.
MUSK-MELON	mush-million	P 351 H 175	[mʌʃ]	Not in Wright's Index.

The NED records sh-forms from an early period on into the nineteenth century. Such forms appear to be regular developments from OE. *tusc*. [tʌʃ] may very well be a relic of earlier standard English, therefore. The NED records the form *musch(e)* as late as



the seventeenth century. In a quotation dated 1591 appears the form *mush-millian*.

## 111. Metathesis of [sk]

ASK	ax	H 9 P 283: "Aks for ask is chiefly a negroism, but widely used among the white people."	[æks]	[ks] in Sh.I. Cai. em.wm.Sc. Kcb. Ayr. s.Sc. Ant. Dur. Cum. Nhb. Yks. Lan. I.Ma. Der. Dnb. Chs. Stf. Not. Lin. Rut. Lei. Nhp. War. Wor. Shr. Hrf. Glo. Oxf. Bck. Bdf. Hrt. Cmb. Nrf. Suf. Ess. Sus. Hmp. I.W. Wil. Dor. Som. Dev.
-----	----	--	-------	---

In OE. *axian* occurred beside *ascian*. The NED gives no forms with [ks] later than the sixteenth century. Krapp does not notice this variant.

## 112. [ŋk] for [ŋg]

STRANGLE	strankle	H 134 P not listed	[stræŋkl]	Not in Wright's Index.
----------	----------	-----------------------	-----------	------------------------

Payne's failure to corroborate Harris throws some doubt on the authenticity of this variant. But Krapp cites parallels in early New England, and Harris is perhaps correct.

Krapp cites *shinckles* for *shingles*, *Sprinkfield* for *Springfield*, and *Inkersol* for *Ingersoll*. After citing parallel instances in sixteenth century British documents, he points out that Wright (274) indicates that [ŋk] in "very widely distributed in *anything*, *nothing*, but present also in other words." (II, 216-17.) All of Wright's instances occur in the west Midlands.

## 113. [h]

Initial [h] has remained before vowels in England only in the dialects of Nhb. and in parts of n.Dur. and n.Cum. We have no exact information as to the date in which it disappeared in the dialects of the south. It disappeared in the standard language toward the end of the eighteenth century. Sweet, p. 259. There seems to be no reason for holding that loss of [h] in the dialects occurred a great deal earlier than this date. Krapp states that "The records do not indicate that at any time or in any region was the loss of *h* [h] in words with this sound in the initial position, or the

addition of *h* at the beginning of words with initial vowels, familiar to all in Cockney speech, current in American use." (II, p. 206.)

# I

The first conclusion to be drawn from the variants given above is that the speech of the negro and of the white is essentially the same, the characteristically negro forms turning out to be survivals of earlier native English forms. Krapp has already stated that "the historical examination of the characteristics of American dialect speech makes it plain that the details of American dialect speech, both of negro and white, are for the most part survivals of older and native English elements in the language." (I, p. 251.) This study offers an opportunity to test this generalization in some detail. An examination of the variants given above allows us to make Krapp's generalization even more emphatic.

The pronunciations which are peculiar to the negro or generally used only by negroes may be classified as follows:

First, forms given by Harris which Payne does not give and which are probably to be interpreted as mistakes on Harris's part, or just possibly as specifically negro forms which have arisen by analogy or special development: 13—*sludge* (sledge); 63—*gnyaw* (gnaw); 80—*turkentime* (turpentine); 105—*strenk* (strength).

Second, forms given by Harris which Payne does not give but for which we have other evidence which confirms or tends to confirm Harris: 42—*kwishin* (cushion); 94—*lather* (ladder); 112—*strankle* (strangle).

(I have not mentioned for obvious reasons the several instances of forms given by Payne which I have failed to find in Harris. Harris is writing dialect stories—not a dialect dictionary, and failure to find in his works forms given by Payne cannot be taken as evidence differentiating the two dialects.)

Third, forms given by both Harris and Payne but which Payne would confine chiefly to negroes. Included in this group are the classes of changes of which Harris gives many instances and Payne only a few: 5—*marters* (matters), *arter* (after), etc.; 10—*water-million* (water-melon); 46—*gwine* (going); 47—*ha'sh* (harsh), *passel* (parcel), etc.; 48—*b'ar* (bear), *whar* (where), etc.; 59—*cornder* (corner); 96—*w'en* (when), *w'ich* (which), etc.; 89—*turkle* (turtle); 99—*dis* (this), *dat* (that), etc.; 102—*toof* (tooth), *mouf* (mouth), etc.; 103—*mont* (month); 111—*ax* (ask).

To most of these forms Payne affixes the label "negroism" or "chiefly a negroism," but the qualifications he adds to many are interesting—and suspicious. For example, *gwine* is "often used by the white people in rural districts"; "the use of these forms *dis*, *dat*, etc. is rapidly increasing among the white people;" *toof* is a "negroism rapidly gaining ground among the whites"; *ax* is "chiefly a negroism, but widely used among the white people." Furthermore, when we realize that *all* the variants in sections two and three can be traced to older native English forms—that *gwine*, for example, occurs in the English dialects and reveals itself in the records of early New England where negro influence was negligible—that *million* for *melon* was used by Elizabethan Englishmen, etc., Payne's term "negroism" loses all significance.

In almost every case, the specifically negro forms turn out to be older English forms which the negro must have taken originally from the white man, and which he has retained after the white man has begun to lose them. It is most significant that Payne should point out the fact that nearly every one of his "negroisms" is used by some whites. What Payne interpreted as the rapid increase of certain forms among the whites under negro influence was in reality, of course, the dying out of older forms which many whites had ceased to use though most negroes retained them. Quite naturally, some of Payne's negroisms were to be more frequently met with among "white people in rural districts," for these would be the whites most likely to retain the older forms.

The specifically negro forms are reduced therefore to those given in class one: *sludge*, *turkentine*, *gnyaw*, and *strenk*, with perhaps the addition of some of those in class two. Obviously, they offer no basis on which to claim a specifically negro development of English. We cannot, of course, consider malapropisms, forms based on analogy, clipped forms, etc., to constitute a particular dialect. For the purposes of this study the speech of the negro and of the white will be considered as one.

## II

In attempting to assess the relative importance of the English provincial dialects in influencing the Alabama-Georgia dialect, it is perhaps simplest to construct a table which will summarize the evidence already given in the treatment of the individual forms. In making such a summary, however, several points must be kept in mind.

In the first place, the forms given for the English dialects in the word-list represent the modern dialects—not those of the seventeenth century. We must allow, therefore, for changes which went through probably after this date. For example, even though [æ] occurs in *stars*, 47, in some of the modern dialects of Great Britain, the later change to [aɪ] which has regularly taken place in most dialects obscures the seventeenth century palatal vowel which must have occurred in many others. Under this qualification must be included other variants such as [aɪ] in *matters*, 5, and in *wear*, 48, which are related to this change. West Worcestershire, for example, today has [aɪ] in *wear*, but the case proves nothing. For at the time of the early emigration to America, [æ] probably occurred in Worcestershire too. One must include here also, the change from [M] to [w] which probably took place in the eighteenth century.

In the second place, we must face the difficult problem of the relation of the provincial dialects to the standard language during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A number of the Alabama-Georgia variants are to be found in the standard language of the eighteenth century. Others occur in the standard language as late as the seventeenth century. Quite naturally, nearly all of these forms which occurred in the earlier standard language appear in some or all of the living provincial dialects today. Since the American variants may derive, however, from earlier standard forms, it will be necessary to take this possibility into account in drawing conclusions. Forms that may have occurred in earlier standard English will be so marked in the summary table.

At the same time, one must not forget that the term "standard language" in the earlier period was necessarily a much looser term than today. The gap between the provincial dialects and the standard language was not so wide as now, and as we noticed in the introduction to this study, the local coloring in the speech of the educated classes was considerable. It is quite possible, therefore, that some of the variants which occur in seventeenth century "standard" represent encroachments of the provincial dialects, and that variant spellings recorded for this century, point to localisms in the pronunciation of the writers. For example, when one finds that the NED records for the seventeenth century *reach*, *reatche* beside *rech*, *retch*, it is quite possible that the latter forms are to be associated with those parts of England in which [retʃ] persists today. Again, when the NED records for the seventeenth century a form *passell* beside the usual forms with *r*, one is in-

clined to regard *passell* as emanating from the southern counties where [r] was lost very early.

The same interpretation is perhaps to be applied, though to a lesser extent, to variants which occur in the standard language of the eighteenth century.

We need not include in our summary certain forms which occurred undoubtedly in the standard language of the eighteenth century and which are also very widely distributed throughout the dialects. Such variants are: 9, [ɹ] in *get, yet*, etc.; 45, [aɪ] in *boil, join*, etc.; 66, palatal [k] and palatal [g]; 58, loss of [w] in compounds of *-ward* and *-worth*; 62, [tʃ] for [tj] and [dʒ] for [dj]; and 78, [ɪn] for final *-ing*. To these should be added perhaps [tʃeɪnɪ] for *china*. These forms have been ousted from the standard language largely under the influence of the spelling. At the time of the early emigration of America they must have existed almost everywhere in England, both in the standard language and in the dialects.

Wright divides the dialects of England into five major groups: Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western, and Southern. Northern includes Northumberland, Cumberland, (except the north parts of these counties) Durham, Westmoreland, Yorkshire (except the south and southwest) and north Lancashire. In the table given below Western (consisting largely of Shropshire and Hereford) will be grouped with Midland. In the few cases in which the Western division gives a variant which the Midland dialects do not give, the name of the western county giving it will be entered in the list.

The Eastern division includes: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Rutland, and all of Northamptonshire except the southwest portion.

The Southern division with which we shall be particularly concerned is subdivided by Wright into the following ten groups:

1. s.sw.Pembrokeshire and parts of Glamorganshire.
2. westmiddle Southern: Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, n. and e.Somersetshire, most of Gloucestershire, sw.Devonshire, w.Berkshire, and w.Hampshire.
3. eastmiddle Southern: Hampshire, I. of Wight, a large portion of Berkshire, s.Surrey, w.Sussex, and a small portion of w.Oxfordshire.
4. north border Southern: n.Gloucestershire, most of Worcester-shire, s.Warwickshire, n.Oxfordshire, sw.Northamptonshire.

5. middle border Southern: most of Oxfordshire, and a small portion of Berkshire.

6. south border Southern: extreme se.Berkshire, ne.Surrey, and nw.Ken.

7. east Southern: nearly all Kent and e.Sussex.

8. northwest Southern: w.Somersetshire, and a small portion of e.Devonshire.

9. southwest Southern: most of Devonshire and e.Cornwall.

10. west west Southern: w.Cornwall.

Wright, however, employs the term "the southwest counties" to indicate I.W. Hmp. Wil. Dor. Som. Dev. Cor. These counties include 8, 9, 10, and most of 2. In using the term "southwest" in the following table, I am adding Gloucestershire, most of which Wright includes in 2. I also add s.Pem. though noting it separately when it alone represents the southwest. When War. Wor. (n. border Southern 4) alone represent the southwest I include them under the southwest, noting them separately. Wright uses the term "south counties" to indicate Ken. Sur. Sus. Brks. In the following table middle border Southern (5) is added to this group. Where the Isle of Man alone represents the Midlands, I omit the Midlands.

The appearance of the name of a county (or group of counties) in the tables given below indicates that that county alone of the general division gives the variant.

The divisions of the counties, north, south, west middle, etc., as given by Wright have sometimes been omitted, as have also the exceptions within a small division and forms which occur beside the variant in question. The specific part of a county, however, is always given in cases in which that part falls into some grand division other than that in which the rest of the county falls; e.g., north Northumberland. Moreover, the specific parts of the southern and southwestern counties have been consistently given.

An examination of the summary table will show that the attempt (often made in the past) to find the sources of American variants in earlier standard English breaks down at once, even if one includes in earlier standard all the doubtful cases. Many of our variants can derive from the dialects alone, and indeed there are cases in which the Alabama-Georgia dialect follows, not the eighteenth century pronunciation, but the dialects of the southwest; for example, not [jɛs] for *yes*, but [jæɪs]. (See 8.)

## THE VOWELS

Scotland	North	Midlands	East	South	Southwest	Standard
1	1	1	1	1	1	18th
2	—	—	2	—	2	—
—	—	—	—	3?	3	—
—	—	4	—	4	4	—
—	—	—	—	6	6	17th?
7	—	—	7	—	7	—
—	—	—	8	8	8	18th <i>yellow,</i> <i>keg</i>
11	11	11	11	—	11	18th
—	—	12	12	12	12	—
15	15	15	15	15	15	—
—	—	16	16	16	—	17th
17	17	17	17	17	17	17th <i>rinse,</i> <i>spirit</i>
18	—	—	—	—	18	—
—	—	19	—	—	19	—
—	20 ne.Yks.	—	20	20	20	18th?
21	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	23	23	23	23	23	—
—	—	24	24	—	24	17th
—	25 Yks.	25	—	—	25	—
—	—	—	—	—	26	—
27	—	27	—	27	27	18th? Luick
—	—	28 Hrf.	—	28	28	—
30	30	30	30	30	30	18th Luick
—	—	—	31	31	31	18th?

## THE VOWELS (Continued)

Scotland	North	Midlands	East	South	Southwest	Standard
—	32	32	—	32	32	—
—	—	—	—	—	33?	—
—	—	34	34	—	34	—
35	—	35	35	35	35	18th <i>put, soot</i>
36	36	36	—	36	36	—
—	37 n.Lan.	37	37 Bck.	37	37	18th
—	—	—	—	—	38	17th? <i>Luick</i>
—	—	39	39 Bck.	39	39	18th
—	—	—	40 Bck.	—	40	—
41	41	41	41	41	41	17th <i>brush</i>
—	42	42	—	—	—	18th
43	43	43	—	—	43	18th <i>oblige</i>
—	—	46 Hrf.	—	46	46	—
—	49	49	49	49	49	—
—	50 n.Lan.	50	50	50	50	—
—	—	—	51	51	51	—
52	—	52	52	52	52	—
—	53	53	53 Nrf.	53	53	—
—	—	—	—	54	54	—
—	—	—	55	55	55	18th
—	56	56	56	56	56	18th
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	18	29	27	30	42	
36%	40%	64%	60%	67%	93%	



## THE CONSONANTS

Scotland	North	Midlands	East	South	Southwest	Standard
—	—	57 Shr. Hrf.	57	57	57	—
—	60	60	60	60	60	17th <i>earth</i>
—	—	—	—	61	61?	—
64	64	64	64	64	64	17th
—	—	67	—	67	67	—
68	68	68	68	68	68	—
—	—	—	—	—	70	—
—	—	—	—	71	71	—
—	72 Nhb.	72	72	72	72	—
73	73	73	73	73	73	—
—	—	—	—	74 Brks.	74	—
—	75	75	—	—	75	—
—	—	—	—	—	76	—
77	77	77	77	77	77	—
79	—	—	79 Bdf.	79	79	—
81	81	81	—	—	81	—
—	—	82	82	82	82	—
—	—	83	83	83	83	—
—	—	—	—	84	84	—
85	85	85	85	85	85	—
—	86	86	86	86	86	—
—	87	—	—	—	87 s. Wor.	—
—	—	—	90	90	90	—
—	91	—	—	—	91	—
—	92	92	92	92	92	—

## THE CONSONANTS (Continued)

Scotland	North	Midlands	East	South	Southwest	Standard
93	—	—	—	—	93	—
94	94	94	94	94	94	17th
95	95	95	95	95	95	—
—	—	—	—	—	96	—
97	—	—	—	—	97	—
98	—	—	—	98	98	—
99 Sh. & Or. I.	—	—	—	99	99 s.Pem.	—
100	100	100	—	100	100	—
—	—	—	—	—	101	—
—	—	—	—	—	102	—
—	—	—	—	103	103	18th <i>girth</i>
—	104	104 Hrf.	—	104	—	—
106	—	106 s.Yks.	—	—	106 w.Som.	18th <i>licorice</i>
107	107	107	107	—	107	17th
—	—	—	—	—	108	—
—	—	—	—	—	109?	—
110	110	110	110	110	110	19th <i>tusk</i> , 17th <i>musk</i>
111	111	111	111	111	111	—
—	—	112	—	—	—	—
18	20	24	19	28	42	
41%	45%	55%	43%	64%	95%	

When we compare the contributions of the various dialect areas in Great Britain, the southwest is seen at once as the most important. A number of variants occur in the southwest counties alone—96, [kɔɪndə] for *corner*, 108 [ɪdnt] for *isn't*, etc.; and many others occur principally in the southwest—3, [skeɪs] for *scarce*, 40, [ɔɪn-] for *un-*, 46, [gwaɪn] for *going*, 72, metathesis of [r], 90, [d] for medial [t], 17, [ɛ] in *bring, sing*+s.Sc., 97 loss of final [d] after [l]+Scotland, 98, loss of final [d] after [n]+Scotland, 77, [m] for [n] after labials+North, etc. In the last case, forms have been duly credited to the other divisions even when only one county represents the division or when the change occurs in only one word, but the changes are clearly to be located principally in the southwest. The rather frequent cases in which the southwest agrees with Scotland or with the North against the other southern areas of Great Britain are of considerable value in helping us to distinguish southwestern from southeastern or east Midland influence, for the Alabama-Georgia dialect is clearly derived from the general south British area, and in these cases, since we do not have to presuppose north British influence, the line is drawn rather sharply between the southwest and the other districts of England south of the Humber.

If many of our variants must come or very probably do come from the southwest area, one observes that nearly all the remainder might come from the same region. The south and southwest—sub-divisions of Wright's grand division, Southern—will together furnish all but two of the variants given in the table: 42, [kwɪʃɪn] for *cushion*, a variant which occurred in the standard language of the eighteenth century, and 112, [stræŋkl] for *strangle*, a variant which Payne does not certify and which we have included in our list only because such forms occurred in the early speech of other parts of the country. The southwest alone will provide over ninety percent of our variants.

The localization of our variants in a rather small area obviously strengthens our theory. Whereas the agreement between the southwest dialects and the Alabama-Georgia dialect in a few particulars might be explained as accidental, their agreement in many—indeed, in nearly every instance in which the Alabama-Georgia dialect differs from standard English—makes any explanation on the basis of a merely accidental relationship untenable.

The list of possible exceptions—the variants which have not been treated in the summary table—is neither long nor formidable. Either they do not occur in the EDG (or in other dialect gram-

mars), and our failure to prove them for the southwest dialects is therefore obviously qualified, or they are easily explained on the basis of analogy. 14, [sant] for *sent* seems to have occurred in the earlier language and the parallel form, *wonde* for *went*, actually occurred in the southwestern area, though, of course, at a very early period. 22, [haim] for *hymn* remains a problem word, but 89, [tʁɪkl] for *turtle* seems to have occurred in the fifteenth century, and it is possible that [kl] for [tl] forms which we have noted in the southwest point to a general development of this type which went on there. 29, the shortening of o to [ʌ] in *chock* which occurred in the standard language of the eighteenth century presents no very difficult problem. 10, [mɔljən], for *melon* is found in the standard language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it is an interesting coincidence—though hardly more than that can be claimed for it—that of the authors of the passages in which it appears quoted by the NED, the only one whom I have been able to trace should turn out to be a Dorsetshireman. 51, *terrapin* probably came into the dialect after the Atlantic had been crossed, and we have ample evidence that the [æ] was very early, perhaps the original vowel. 69, the addition of [l] to *maw* and *haw* is difficult to account for, but possible fluctuation in the Elizabethan period between [mɔɪ] and [mɔɪl] has already been pointed out. 65, the explanation of [ɔɪstʃə] for *oyster* on the basis of analogy seems easy and satisfactory, 88, the [b] for [v] in *love*, *live*, etc., may be due to analogy with the other forms with [b] for [v], or the explanation given in 88 may hold. Of all the exceptions, this seems the only one which gives any warrant to conjecture an American or negro development.

By way of summary, if those who set the speech pattern of the Alabama-Georgia dialect came from the southern and southwestern counties of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they could have brought with them all but a handful of the variants which Harris and Payne have recorded. Other developments can, for the most part, be accounted for on the basis of analogy and the influence of spelling and the literary language. This is not to say for a moment, of course, that the Alabama-Georgia dialect is the dialect of Somerset or Devon, but the fact that the former, wherever it deviates from standard English, *deviates with the latter*, indicates that it has been strongly colored by it. The conclusion seems inescapable.

Kurath has stated: "The influence of the speech of the west of

England on American English is hard to discern. Krapp points out a number of rather doubtful cases of such an influence in his *English Language in America*, II, 121, 125, 142." (*Modern Philology*, XXV, p. 393, note.) The term "west of England" is rather vague, but the references to Krapp indicate that Kurath refers to the southwest counties and not, or not merely, to the west Midlands. Surely his statement cannot be taken to include the dialects of the Southern states, or if it does include them, cannot have been based on a very careful examination. For at the least it would be very hard to disprove, in view of the evidence given above, that the southwest had *not* been influential. For two of the "rather doubtful cases," see 25, and 28.

One pauses here to remark that Krapp's reprehension of the view that American English is much more archaic than British English is surely stated too emphatically. (See I, pp. 49 ff.) We have traced most of the forms of the Alabama-Georgia dialect back to older forms in England, and it would be difficult to point out with certainty any general developments in pronunciation which have taken place in this dialect on American soil. Development in vocabulary there has been, but the pronunciation conforms rather closely to Ellis's theory of the behavior of the pronunciation of a group which has emigrated from the mother country.

Whereas historical corroboration is lacking, there is nothing in the theory of southwest country influence which runs counter to the known facts. The southwest counties are coast counties and were from Elizabethan times active in exploration and colonization. Of the two companies founded in 1606 for the settlement of Virginia, one was composed of men from Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. The southwest must have been very important in the early settlement of the South. These early colonists, it would seem, were very influential in setting the speech pattern. Mencken states in *The American Language*, p. 67, that "Most of the colonists who lived along the American seaboard in 1750 were the descendants of immigrants who had come in fully a century before; after the first settlements there had been much less fresh immigration than many latter-day writers have assumed. According to Prescott F. Hall, 'the population of New England . . . at the date of the Revolutionary War . . . was produced out of an immigration of about 20,000 persons *who arrived before 1620*,' and we have Franklin's authority for the statement that the total population of the colo-

nies in 1751, then about 1,000,000, had been produced from an original immigration of less than 80,000." This statement of affairs agrees very well with the conclusions to be drawn from the speech of the Southern states. The pattern of the speech of the Southern states must have been pretty well established before [ʌ] became [w] in the south of England, for [ʌ] is almost universal in the southern states. The change of [ʌ] to [w] seems to have occurred during the eighteenth century, and Jones (1701) indicates that [w] was already beginning to come in. Since his pronunciation is sometimes influenced by southwest country provincialisms, it is possible that [w] was already coming into these dialects at this time. The speech pattern was probably set in the seventeenth century, therefore—perhaps in the early eighteenth.

All in all, the theory that the dialect of Alabama-Georgia has been much colored by the dialects of the southwest of the seventeenth century seems the simplest way of accounting for the deviations of this dialect from standard English.

### III

Some further comment is required on the change of initial [ð] to [d] in the dialects of South England and its relation to the pronunciation of initial [ð] as [d] in the Southern states of America.

This is the change probably regarded as most characteristic of the negro; and here perhaps most evidence will be required to prove a causal relationship between the English provincial dialects and the speech of the negro. Moreover, the location of the dialects which give the change raises certain problems which must be faced.

Payne, of course, considers that the negro in this instance has influenced white speech. Krapp avoids this error. He has, as has been pointed out above, a very sound belief in the view that "the details of American dialect speech, both of negro and white, are for the most part survivals of older and native English elements in the language." But he disposes of this apparent exception by the rather desperate expedient of denying that it exists! "The value of the consonant represented by *d* in spellings like *de* for *the*, *dar* for *there*, *wid* for *with*, that is for voiced *th* in unstressed position, seems also not certain. Was the *d* intended to represent a genuine explosive [d], or merely a very much voiced [ð], a sound which could only be represented in the conventional alphabet by *d*? the latter is the more probable supposition." (I, p. 249.)

But it is no solution to deny the facts. As has been remarked before, Harris is probably a more "conscientious and painstaking observer of dialect" than Johnson. And moreover, Johnson himself gives forms like *dem*, *dar*, etc., not to mention Thomas Nelson Page, Payne, and many others.

The fact that we have found the source of so many "negro" pronunciations in the southern counties of England gives an initial predisposition in favor of the view that they are to be considered as the source of this variant also, especially when we find this variant located there.

Did the change of [ð] to [d] in these dialects occur early enough for such variants to be brought over by the seventeenth century immigrants to America? Ellis would date the change in Kent and east Sussex as at least earlier than 1736.

"The peculiar character which separates D 9 sharply from the adjoining D 5 and D 8 is the pronunciation of the initial *th* as (d) in *this, that, there, their, theirs, them, then, these, those, they*. To these words would probably have been added, *than, thou, thee, thy, thine, though, thus*, had they been used in the dialect, but they have not been heard; *than* is always replaced by *nor, thou*, etc. by *you* etc., *though thus* do not seem to be required at all. Rev. Mr. Parish (Glossary, p. 8) says the *th* is invariably *d*, this is not the case for the initial *th* of any other words, so far as I can learn. In the middle of words we have *d* in *farthing* and *further*, but that is common to other dialects. Miss Darby thought she knew it in *other, either, neither*, but was not able to verify her supposition when she tried. In Faversham, Ke., however, Mr. H. K.-Hugessen gives (v̥nædər) another. Final *th* in *with*, *smooth* becomes *d* before a vowel, as (*smud it, wid it*) but not regularly, compare (*v̥d̥in, v̥d̥éut*) *within, without*. Now here some might suppose we had the desired Jutish peculiarity, but alas! there is no trace of it in Dan Michel, who (see pp. 38-41) had plenty of initial (*z, v*), which have since his time entirely disappeared. In John Lewis's *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet* [that is Thanet, the ne. corner of Ke.], 2nd ed. 1736, he says (p. 35) that 'the English spoken here is generally very good, only the natives in common with the other inhabitants of this part of Kent are used to pronounce the *th* as a *d* . . . . As for example, *How is dat man dere?* for *Who is that man there?*' Yet in Thanet at the present day, as among the fishermen at Folkestone, I have not been

able to discover a single instance of this use of d for initial th. But Sir F. Burton (of the National Gallery) informed me in July, 1887, that his housekeeper from the Isle of Thanet has an old uncle about 80, who always says 'dat man dere,' and knows other old people who do so. Hence Lewis is confirmed, and the disappearance is only recent. [*The brackets in the quotation are Ellis's.*]” Ellis, A. J., *On Early English Pronunciation*, EETS 56, pp. 131-132.

If we failed to push the date for the change back earlier than the early eighteenth century, this would, of course, set it early enough for emigrants from this part of England to have introduced the form into America. It may be possible, however, to set the date even earlier in spite of Dan Michel's failure to give such forms in his fourteenth-century *Ayenbite*. Though Wright does not date the change as such, by implication he argues for a very early date. In his MEG 236, he states that “The initial voiceless spirants f, s, þ became the voiced spirants v, z, ð in late OE. or early ME. in Kentish and the southern, especially the south-western dialects . . . . The modern dialects show that this voicing of the initial voiceless spirants must have taken place at an early period, because it is almost exclusively confined to native words, hence the change must have taken place before the great influx of Anglo-Norman words into these dialects. . . . These modern dialects help to throw some light upon the standard NE. voiced ð (written th) in pronouns and the adverbs related to them. There is no indication either in ME. or NE. to show when the þ- became voiced in such words, but the dialects of Sus., Ken., and s.Pem. show that it must have taken place pretty early, because in these dialects the þ- has become d-, although the forms with d- are now obsolescent in the two latter counties. . . . These forms with d- show that the voicing of the þ- in *pronomial and adverbial forms* [*italics mine*] was older than the voicing of it in the other OE. words beginning with þ.” They show this, of course, because *otherwise all the voiced forms would have been leveled under d*, and only the pronomial and adverbial forms have d. If, therefore, the change of [ð] to [d] occurred before the voicing of [θ] to [ð] in other native English words, and if this voicing of [θ] to [ð] in native English words must have occurred before the influx of Anglo-Norman words, the change of [ð] to [d] in *this, that, though*, etc., must have occurred very early indeed.

The dating is important when we inquire into the relation between the [d] forms in Kent and Sussex and the [d] forms in south



Pembroke in the extreme southwest. Wright in his EDG states nothing about the relation of the dialect of south Pembroke to the other dialects of the south except the implication of a rather close one by making Pembroke one of the subdivisions of the Southern Division.

Ellis does make such a statement, however.

"During the XIIth century parties of Englishmen migrated evidently from Ws. [West Saxon] regions, but under Norman guidance, and took possession of three peninsulas previously occupied by Celts, 1) the extreme se. of Wx. in Ireland, 2) the extreme sw. of Pm., 3) Gowerland in Gm. Tradition says that, at least in Pm., they were accompanied or reinforced by Flemings who had been driven out of the Low Countries by floods. . . . But in the XIIth century the distinction between Flemish and Ws. must have been slight, and the Ws. element must have predominated, for Higden in the XIVth century finds the people speaking "good enough Saxon." At the present day Wx. presents no peculiarity, although a century ago, it was truly S. English. But Pm. and Gm. still possess remnants of the old forms. It is notorious that emigrants preserve the traditions of the old speech longer than the old country. In this case each settlement was surrounded by speakers of an unintelligible language. Hence the settlers scattered over a small extent of the country were necessarily in constant communication, undiverted by other habits of speech. Consequently they preserved the old language with only natural changes. I regard these districts then as presenting remnants of a very old dialectal form, and hence place them first. But, as will be presently seen, they are now so worn away that their relation of S. [Southern] cannot be properly felt unless D 4 be studied first." (Ellis, p. 24.)

Ellis does not apply this argument to the change of [ð] to [d]. Indeed, he merely mentions *dat* as occurring for *that* in South Pembroke, with the comment that it "is very peculiar. Its appearance and gradual disappearance may be compared with D 9 [Kent and east Sussex]." (p. 32.) But Wright is quite positive in his statement that such forms occurred in south Pembroke, though he marks the d-forms as now obsolete. There seems to be no reason why Ellis's argument should not be applied in the case of this change, and that its former occurrence in south Pembroke may be regarded as "one of the remnants of a very old dialectal form" of West Saxon, or of the Southern Division in general.

Indeed, if we accept Wright's dating of the change as very early, then this change must have occurred in the West Saxon dialects for it to have been brought into south Pembroke at all, since south Pembroke was not settled by the English until the twelfth century.

In view of all this, Kruisinga's reporting of a form *de* for *the* in West Somersetshire becomes very important, for it may be interpreted as a last remnant of the [ð]>[d] change in the West Saxon dialects from which the dialect of south Pembrokeshire would seem to be derived.

Of course, we must face the fact that no records of dialectal speech or earlier Southern speech record such forms, but this is an objection which must be faced with regard to Michel's *Ayenbite* and which Wright seems to have been willing to override in the case of the d-forms in the southeast. It seems to me very difficult to refute his argument. Moreover, it is not surprising that the d-forms, if they *were* widely distributed over the Southern area, should have disappeared so completely. For example, we know that initial [s] became [z] over the whole southern area very early, yet in the modern dialects z-forms are obsolete in Kent, though d-forms occur; z-forms occur in south Pembroke whereas d-forms are obsolete. The two changes evidently did not die out together, or uniformly. Moreover, the completeness with which certain formerly wide-spread forms have died out in the modern dialects is easily illustrated. *Cham* (ich am) occurs in Shakespeare, for example, as a mark of rustic speech and must have been distributed over a wide area of the south; but in the modern dialects at the time of the publication of the EDG, the form was limited to "old people in a small district of Som. close to Yeovil." (EDG 403.)

The foregoing argument that the [ð]>[d] change may have been distributed over the Southern division is perhaps not necessary to support the thesis that the Alabama-Georgia variants find their source in the dialects of the South of England. Certainly little intermixture of dialects is called for if we need only to add the southeast counties of England to the southwest. (Heil, for example, is compelled to require a mixture of the dialects of the East and the South.) The dialects of the southeast and southwest are very closely related, and indeed Ellis makes the [ð]>[d] change the chief mark distinguishing his D 9 [Kent, east Sussex] from D 5 [Wright's east middle Southern]. (p. 131.)

But the occurrence of such forms in s.Pem. raises at once the

question of the relation of s.Pem. to the dialects of the mainland, and since we have found so many of our variants in the southwest, our theory is further strengthened if we can find the sources of this interesting and wide-spread Alabama-Georgia variant in the southwest as well.

The view that the source of the Alabama-Georgia treatment of initial [ð] is to be found in the south counties of England is confirmed by a comparison of the Alabama-Georgia treatment of [ð] in all positions with that of Sussex.

The Alabama-Georgia treatment may be summarized as follows:

Initial [ð] > [d] in "the pronouns and adverbs derived from them." (It should be noted that Payne does not record d in words other than the pronouns and adverbs, and that Harris definitely indicates [θ] in *thank*, H 353, and [ð] in *lather* (ladder), H 245.)

Medial [ð] > [d].

Final [θ], [ð] > [f], [v] in words like *mouth*, *tooth*, *smooth*, etc.

Final [θ] after [n] or [r] > [t].

Final [ð] > [d] in *with*.

Now the dialect of Sussex treats [θ], [ð] in all these positions in the same way with the following exceptions: 1. It does not give final [f], [v] in words like *mouth*, *tooth*, etc. 2. It does not give final [t] after [r]. But the force of these exceptions is somewhat weakened when we remember that whereas Wright does not record either of these forms for any southern county, Kruisinga gives several examples of the first in w.Som., and as for the second, gives *girt* (*girth*) in w.Som. Wright's silence therefore can hardly be taken to indicate that such forms do not occur in Sussex. It is very difficult, therefore, to escape the conclusion that we have in the Sussex dialect, the source of the Alabama-Georgia treatment of [θ], [ð]. We are otherwise confronted with what is, at the least, a most interesting coincidence.

Moreover, it is most interesting that the one apparent exception to the negro's treatment of [ð] and [d]—[læðə] for *ladder*—should also be found in the dialect of Sussex. If such a parallel occurred in a county which showed few parallels to the Georgia-Alabama variants, the argument for a causal relation would be weakened. But Sussex shows more parallels to Alabama-Georgia than any other dialect except the closely related dialects to the west.

In view of all the evidence, one is tempted to regard the various

treatments of [θ] and [ð] scattered through the southeast and southwest counties which parallel the treatment of [θ], [ð] in our American dialect, as relics of a treatment which once existed over large sections of the Southern division and which is now best preserved in Sussex. The case, though it can hardly be regarded as proved, is an important item in the cumulative evidence which would connect our dialect with the south and southwest.

#### IV

Reference has already been made in the Introduction to the work done by Krapp and Heil on the influence of the British dialects on American speech. Krapp, though his work deals with American speech in general, definitely concerns himself more particularly with New England. His general conclusion that the speech of New England is founded principally on the speech of the East and South of England is undoubtedly correct. (I, p. 19.) But it should be pointed out that he has not perhaps credited sufficiently the dialects of the southwest of England. For example, Krapp himself in several instances (II, pp. 142, 200, 121, 125, etc.) traces American forms to the dialects of the southwest. Moreover, the forms given in the following sections of this study, 6, 17 (for we may rule out the possibility of Scotch influence in early New England), 18, 27, 38, 74, 89, 106 occur in New England, and are found only or largely in the dialects of the south counties. This list would be considerably extended if we added here forms like *win'* (wind) *bimeby* (by and by), etc., which Krapp gives merely under the heading "Low Colloquial" and which he does not attempt to trace to the English dialects at all.

Krapp, of course, does not pretend to make a careful and systematic appraisal of the influence of the British dialects. He can hardly be criticized therefore for failing to give a tabulation of the variants traceable to the various parts of England. Inasmuch, however, as he does make some attempt to find sources for some of his New England variants in the British dialects, and does make some wide generalizations on this point, it is perhaps in order to point out that many of his New England variants can be found in the southwest counties, that many cannot be found in the east counties, and that a considerable number are to be found in the southwest counties alone.

In the same manner, Heil's conclusion, on the basis of his own evidence, might be modified somewhat in favor of the southwest counties. His statement (Sec. 140) that the dialects which have influenced the northwestern states are "hauptsächlich die Dialekte von East Anglia und dem Süden" may be interpreted to mean "of East Anglia and of the Southern division (including both southeast and southwest)." But since he refers again and again to the southwest counties as such, he would have avoided ambiguity by stating specifically what he meant by South. By coupling East Anglia with the South, he has rather implied the eastern portion of the Southern Division (Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Berkshire).

In the Introduction to his study, Heil quotes from Fisk's *Beginnings of New England*: "Perhaps it would not be far out of the way to say that two thirds of the American people who can trace their ancestry to New England might follow it back to the East-Anglian shires of the mother country; one sixth might follow it to those south-western counties—Devonshire, Dorset, and Somerset—which so long were foremost in maritime enterprise; one sixth to other parts of England."

The evidence which Heil himself submits—though it is not nearly so full as that which Krapp gives—would indicate that Fisk has not overestimated the influence of the southwest counties on New England. For example, a number of the changes which Heil gives in Sec. 138 of his study are to be especially associated with the southwest.

Heil seems in some cases to have warped the evidence a bit in favor of the eastern counties. In Sec. 124, he states that "EDG bezeugt den Wandel von o>a in England vor allem für Mundarten des Ostens und Südens, in einzelnen Fällen auch für einige Provinzen des Westens und Mittellandes." Now of Heil's examples, Wright records no unrounded forms for any eastern county; and of all the examples of unrounded o which he does give, only one case occurs for any word in any eastern county—*across*, which has [a] in Norfolk and in Bedford.

In the same section, Heil treats in a separate paragraph the unrounding of o before r plus a consonant, instancing *morning* as *marning*. This form occurs in Norfolk, but Wright makes the specific statement that this development of o "is confined almost exclusively to the south midland, s. and sw. counties." (EDG 87.) In view of this, it is apparent that Heil's statement that the EDG

records o>a "vor allem für Mundarten des Ostens und Südens" is somewhat misleading.

I note what is perhaps a printer's error in Sec. 123. There Heil states: "Nach EDG §23 erscheint a>e in: Bck. Hrt. Ess., parts of Kent, sowie in em. Sc." The EDG includes the Midlands also in this list.

One must repeat, there is no attempt made in this study to overturn the general conclusions arrived at by Krapp and Heil. But since so many of the Alabama-Georgia variants are to be found in New England—at least in the earlier speech of New England—it is necessary to point out that the influence of the southwest counties was considerable there also.

Since writing this I have come upon the following statement made by William Cabell Greet: "W. W. Rockwell believes that the speech of the New England coast reflects the southwest of England as well as East Anglia." (Greet, *opus cit.*, p. 600.)

## V

One must, of course, be very careful in the use of negative evidence. Many forms brought over from the English dialects must have perished. The failure to find a particular variant proves nothing. At the same time, failure to find in one section variants which did manage to perpetuate themselves in other parts of America may have some significance. Such evidence as there is of this sort tends to support our derivation of the Alabama-Georgia variants from the southwest.

For example, a pronunciation of [oɪ] as [ʌ] or as a vowel closely resembling it in acoustical effect\* is or was very common in New England. (See Krapp, II, pp. 132 ff.) Wright records [ʌ] in *oats*, n.m.Bck. Ess., *only*, e.Hrf. e.Oxf. w.Som., *home*, Not. s.Lin. Lei. n.Bck. Bdf. ne.Cmb. Ess. s.Nrf., *whole*, s.Lin. Rut. Lei. e.Oxf. Bdf. s.Nrf. EDG 123. For *stone* Wright gives [ʌ] in s.Lin. e.w.Oxf. n.Bck. ne.Cmb. ne.Nrf., for *bone*, [ʌ] in ne.Cmb. EDG 122. Though other districts are occasionally represented, it would seem that this change is located in the eastern counties and the sections of the

\* Grandgent regards the vowel as a rounded [ʌ]. *Old and New*, Harvard University Press, 1920, p. 133. But it is quite possible that the vowel indicated by Wright for the eastern counties was a rounded vowel, at least in the seventeenth century, especially when we remember that the vowel arose as a shortening of [oɪ]. Kurath regards East Anglia as the source of the New England vowel. See his "Origin of the Dialectal Differences in Spoken English," MP XXV, p. 390.

Midlands which border on them. It may be of some significance that such forms do not occur in the Alabama-Georgia variants.

Again, the pronunciation of [v] as [w] is mentioned by Krapp as occurring very frequently in earlier New England pronunciation. (II, pp. 241 ff.) This seems to be a rather specifically east county change. Wright states that "initial and medial v has become w in m.Bck. Nrf. Suf. Ess. Ken. e.Sus." (EDG 281.)

No such pronunciations occur in the Alabama-Georgia variants. Krapp has stated that the "pronunciation is frequently indicated by R. M. Johnston in his representations of the rural speech of central Georgia, in his *Mr. Absalom Billingslea* (1888). . . . Johnston was a conscientious and painstaking observer of dialect, and this pronunciation of v as [w] must be taken as a genuine local survival, not as merely a literary echo from Dickens or other British humorous writers." (II, p. 242.)

As a "conscientious and painstaking observer of dialect," Harris is very probably Johnston's superior, and his failure to indicate forms with [w]—not to mention the failure of Payne who uses phonetic or semi-phonetic transcriptions and who agrees with Harris in nearly every detail—indicates rather definitely that [w] for [v] does not occur in the dialect with which we are concerned. I have also failed to find such forms in Longstreet whose dialect also represents central Georgia and whose work appeared as early as 1835. The absence of such forms in a dialect so conservative of British dialectal variants and of archaic English must be taken to indicate that such forms did not occur, or very rarely occurred, in the past.

Again, the nasality of New England speech has been connected by a number of observers with the east counties of England. For example, H. T. Armfield finds the source of nasality of New England in Essex.\* See also De Vere, *Americanisms*, pp. 427 ff., and Ellis on the subject of the Norfolk "whine."

If the source of the nasality is to be found in the eastern counties, one observes that it does not occur in our dialect.

All in all, negative evidence, though one may not attach too much importance to it, tends to corroborate the view that the Alabama-Georgia dialect is to be associated with the southwest—not with the east counties which Krapp, Orbeck, Heil, and Kurath find to have been so influential on New England speech.

\* *The Essex Dialect and its influence in the New World. Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society.* IV, pp. 245-253. New Series. Cited by Krapp, II, p. 24.

## APPENDIX

## I

## NOTE ON DIALECTAL INFLUENCE IN AUSTRALIA

Australia, though it was settled much later than the United States, offers a good illustration of the influence of the British provincial dialects on the speech of a new country settled from Great Britain. Ellis states that "Persons who have visited Australia declare that there is a marked 'Cockney' element in its speech." (*opus cit.*, p. 237.) In the pages of his work that follow, he gives detailed lists of Australian pronunciations to prove his point.

At the time of his writing, the population of Australia was of not more than 40 percent English stock (See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8th ed., 1854, IV, p. 281). Even a smaller percentage, of course, must have been derived from London itself, and yet the speech pattern set by the earliest settlers, evidently from London, has persisted.

This example may help to explain why so few elements traceable to Scotch-Irish influence make themselves apparent in the Alabama-Georgia dialect, although the number of people in this section of Georgia who derive from Scotch-Irish stock is considerable.

## II

## NOTE ON THE DIALECT OF HAMPSHIRE

The attentive reader will have noticed that though many of the Alabama-Georgia variants are to be located in Sussex, and many in Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, few indeed, according to Wright, are to be found in the intervening county of Hampshire.

Wright makes no comment on any special peculiarity of the dialect in this county; but a check on fifty words taken at random from his Index showed that in only eleven cases does he mention any form for Hampshire.

The explanation comes out when Ellis is consulted. Ellis states (p. 99): "Prof. S. [Shroer] considers that the Ha. [Hampshire dialect] 'is rapidly dying out, and has been so for the last two generations. Even the oldest farm-labourers are so much accustomed to educated (London) pronunciation, that this certainly influences their natural speech.'" With regard to his Dialect 5 (Wright's east middle Southern) he says: "The district is not so well represented as the last [west Middle Southern]. The greater number of notes are meagre and imperfect." (p. 92.)



This explains Wright's frequent failure to give forms for Hampshire. The dialect, as the classifications of Wright and Ellis show, is closely related to the dialects on both sides of it. At the time of the American immigration, it must have showed the same forms as Sussex and the counties to the west of it. A dialect map in the early eighteenth century would have shown the Alabama-Georgia variants stretching in an unbroken band from Devonshire through middle Sussex.

### III

#### NOTE ON SCOTCH-IRISH INFLUENCE

Kurath and Craigie have both spoken of obvious traces of Scotch-Irish influence in the Southern states. Craigie, for example, says: "In some of the Southern States the Scoto-Irish origin of the dialect is equally obvious." (S P E Tract No. 27, p. 201.) Kurath finds that Krapp has overlooked "clear traces of Scotch-Irish (northern English) pronunciation in our rather heterogeneous South." (*Language*, III, p. 134.)

In treating the British origins of a Southern dialect such as that of Alabama-Georgia, it is necessary to face the problem of possible Scotch-Irish influence. In this study no such influence has been found. Both Kurath and Craigie may be thinking particularly of the mountain districts of the South, of course, or of other districts where such influence may possibly obtain. Furthermore, it is especially important to notice the evidence in favor of Scottish influence offered by Kurath, for two of the pronunciations which Kurath thinks Scottish have not been treated in this study.

Kurath offers as a clear trace of Scotch-Irish influence "the regular variation [aɪ]:[əɪ] and [aʊ]:[əʊ] before voiced and voiceless sounds, respectively, as in *a fine night* [əfaɪn nəɪt], *down and out* [daʊn ənd əʊt]."

Now Wright states that the normal development of OE. I is "ai s.Sc. (when final and before voiced spirants)." EDG 154, and perhaps Kurath has this passage in mind. But the occurrence of [aɪ]+[vɪ]\* in the Southwest counties indicates that the source of the Southern treatment of ME. I may possibly be found here. It is true that Wright does not state that [aɪ] occurs before voiced,

\* Wright's [v] here may indicate an [ʌ] in the present day or in the earlier dialects. See 52.

[æɪ] before voiceless consonants, as in the Southern states. Before the question can be thoroughly settled, however, we need perhaps a finer analysis of the diphthongs used for literary [aɪ] both in the Southern states and in the English dialects, and more knowledge about the development of the diphthongs in the English dialects and in London English. But at least the fact that both diphthongs indicated by Kurath occur in the Southwest dialects is of some negative value; we can hardly regard the treatment of ME. *ī* in the Southern states as *clearly* of Scottish origin.

One notices that though Kurath (MP, XXV, p. 391) states that the speech of Virginia is of Southeast British origin, the variation of [aɪ] and [æɪ] occurs here. See Shewmake, pp. 24-25.

When we turn to [aʊ], [əʊ] the case for Scottish influence becomes even weaker. Shewmake states that in Virginia [aʊ] is used before voiced, [əʊ] before voiceless consonants. (This variation does not hold, however, for large sections of the Southern states.) According to Wright, in Scotland the normal development of OE. *u* is "ū Sc., but s.Sc. *eu* when final." (EDG 171.) This hardly offers a parallel to the treatment of this vowel in the Southern states. So far as I am aware, [uɪ] nowhere occurs for ME. *ū* in the South. We do find, on the other hand, possible sources for this variation in the southern counties and in the Midlands of England. In the Southwest counties occurs "eu. . . (but w.Som. e.Cor. eu, e.Dev. əü)." (EDG 171.) The eu probably indicates [ɛʊ]. (See EDG 3.) [ɛ] would approximate the palatal quality of the first element of the diphthong as often heard in the South. In the east counties and in the south Midlands "eu+eu" occur. (EDG 171.)

Kurath's other evidences of Scottish influence [dræp], [kræp] for *drop*, *crop*, and [ʌ] for wh-, have already been discussed in 28 and 59, respectively.

Naturally, in the short compass of a book-review, Kurath can hardly be expected to give an exhaustive list of the items which he thinks show Scottish influence. But it is fair to say that none of the typical cases which he submits conclusively indicates Scottish influence, and that total evidence for Scottish influence on this dialect is small. For example, see the table indicating the sources of dialectal variants. Of those located in Scotland all but three are found in the Southwest counties, and two of those three are found in counties of the Southeast.

## IV

## NOTE ON THE VOWEL [aɪ]

The account of the vowel [aɪ] in America given in Section 5 of this study seems the most satisfactory interpretation of the evidence which we have: (1) the certain existence of [æ] or [æɪ] in early American speech; (2) the heavy predominance of the palatal vowel today; (3) the insertion of [aɪ] in words in which it does not occur in the standard language, a development which seems especially associated with those regions where [aɪ] occurs in words justified by the standard language; and (4) the fact that most scholars date the appearance of [aɪ] in London English in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

I cannot, therefore, attach very much importance to Kurath's statement (MP XXV, p. 389) that "the qualitatively identical vowels in *hat* and in *half*" indicates a relation between "our North-and-West and the English North," and that [aɪ] in [haɪf], [daɪns] is one of the resemblances between east New England and South England—that is, if an early speech relationship is meant. The speech of the Southern states follows the South England treatment of *r*, but it has the palatal vowel before *f*, *s*, and *θ*, and in words like *dance*. It seems probable that emigrants from any part of England up until the eighteenth century at least would bring over [æ] or [æɪ] in all such words as *half*, *path*, *last*, *bar*, *park*, *dance*, etc.

One can hardly afford to be dogmatic, however. Even if we agree that [aɪ] did not occur in these words in the standard language before the second half of the eighteenth century, we cannot prove that in some dialects the [aɪ] did not develop considerably earlier. There is also this difficulty with the explanation commonly given to account for the palatal vowel in the *path-staff-last* group of words in American speech: if literary influence or the influence of later immigrants introduced [aɪ] before [r], why did it not also impose [aɪ] before [s], [f], and [θ]?

The English dialects offer an interesting parallel to the treatment of *a* in the Southern states and other parts of America. *ar*+consonant has become [aɪ] in all parts of England except the extreme north where the [r] is retained, and a small district of the west Midlands where an [ɜɪ] has developed. [EDG 37.] *a* before final [r] seems to have had the same development. (See Wright's Index.) On the other hand,<sup>8</sup> the normal development of OE. *æ* in

originally closed syllables is [æ] in Shr. the east, the south, and the southwest counties. (EDG 23.) In this statement are included the cases in which a stands before [f] and [θ]. a before sp, ss, and st has "in the south-midland, southern, and eastern counties . . . generally been lengthened to ā, and in the south-western to æ." (EDG 26.) It will be noticed from this last statement that the dialects which surround London have followed (or perhaps have carried with them) the standard language in the development of a before [s]. Only the southwestern dialects present a thorough-going parallel to the speech of the Southern states in their treatment of a before [r], [s], [f], and [θ].

The [æ] has usually been lengthened before [s], [f], and [θ] in the Southern states, and a lengthened [æ] occurs not only before [s] in the southwest counties but also in some cases before [f] and [θ] as well. (See EDG 23.) Moreover, as W. A. Read has pointed out (*opus cit.*, p. 218) in America the [æi] has often been slightly raised, and this raised [æi] occurs in at least some parts of the southwest counties. See, for example, Kjederqvist who records [ä], that is, a slightly raised [æ], for Wiltshire in *pass, class, past, half, calf, answer*, etc. 101, 2, and 62, 2, a.

I am not convinced that the parallel between the treatment of a in the southwest dialects and in the speech of the Southern states is any more than accidental. But the fact that in these dialects and in others of the south and south Midlands an [aɪ] developed before [r] but not before [f] and [θ], and that in the dialects of the southwest the [aɪ] also did not develop before [s], may indicate that the [aɪ] developed earlier before [r], even in the standard language. Ellis indicates that as late as 1875 [æi] was often used before [f], [s], and [θ]. (EEP, p. 1148.) The weight of literary influence may thus have been in favor of [aɪ] before [r] earlier than before the spirants. On the other hand, for those who wish to trace the American treatment of a to the English dialects, the southwest counties would seem to offer the best source for the treatment of a in the Southern states.

# INDEX OF WORDS

act	93	crop	28	harsh	47, 71	month	103
air	48	culvert	87	haunt	31	mouth	102
after	5, 83	cure	38	haw	69	musk-melon	110
always	58	cushion	42	hearse	106	mustache	5
ask	111	daub	33	hearth	47, 71	naked	15
bald	97	deaf	11	heaven	75, 86	navel	86
balm	6	dew	62	help	67	ne'er	51
baptize	81	district	19	herb	56, 60	neither	26, 100
barrel	72	drain	16	here	60	next	92
bear	48	drink	18	hinder	17	oblige	43
blind	98	drop	28	hoist	45	onion	41, 79
boil	45	dubious	62	hold	97	orate	77
both	102	dwindle	95	horse	71	other	100
bother	100	ear	60	hungry	40	oyster	65
bream	23	earth	56, 60	hymn	22	palm	6
breath	102	edge	7	if	17	parcel	47
bring	18	egg	7	isn't	108	perish	72
brush	41	eleven	75, 86	itch	19	perspire	70
bundle	95	elm	73	jab	5	pert	53
burst	52	end	72	jaunt	31	pith	17
by and by	74	ewe	39	join	45	plague	15
calm	6	fact	93	judge	41	poison	45
can	2	feather	100	just	41	professor	70
candle	95	fend	84	keg	8	psalm	6
care	49	find	98	kettle	9	pure	38
carving	66	finger	18	ladder	94	purslane	52
catch	1	first	52, 92	last	92	put	35
chair	49	flail	68	learn	56	queer	50
champ	4	flap	5	left	91	radish	1
chest	9	forth	103	leg	7	reach	24
chew	37, 72	forward	58	licorice	106	real	25
children	72	fought	32	lid	17	rear, v.	50
chimney	82	friend	98	light-wood	90	region	23
china	44	from	72	little	20	rind	75
chock-full	29, 109	garden	66	live	88	rinse	17, 107
church	52	gather	1	loft	91	rivet	87
cloth	102	get	9	love	88	rosin	75
coast	92	ghost	92	man	5	round	98
coil	46	girl	55	marble	85	sauce	31
conceit	25	girth	103	marshy	47, 71	saucer	31
concern	56	gnaw	63	master	5	saucy	31
corner	96	going	46	matter	5	Saturday	90
cover	41	gold	97	maw	69	scarce	3, 71
cranberry	74	hair	48	melon	10	scare	49
creation	70	hand	98	mercy	54	self	67
creature	23, 64	harrow	48	monstrous	72	sent	14

seven	75, 86	supple	36	took	33	what	59
shall	2	sure	38	tooth	102	when	59
shirt	52	tassel	4	touch	41	where	48, 59
shook	35	taste	92	trample	4	whether	101
shrimp	72	tavern	75	triple	81	which	59
shut	41, 90	teat	23	Tuesday	62	whilst	59
since	17	terrapin	51	tune	62	why	59
sing	18	terrify	51	turpentine	80	wind	98
sledge	13	that	99	turtle	89	wish	21
slice	106	the	99	tusk	110	with	104
smooth	102	then	99	underneath	104	woman	57
soft	30, 91	there	48, 99	uneasy	40	word	52
soot	35	they	99	unicorn	77	world	97
spirit	17	thing	18	unseen	40	worse	52
stab	5	think	18	unsettle	40	wrap	5
stamp	4	this	99	untied	40	wrestle	8
stand	98	though	99	vermin	56	yeast	61
star	47	thresh	72	wasn't	108	yellow	8
stead	9	throat	72	waste	92	yes	8
steady	9	tiny	43	wear	48	yesterday	9
strap	5	tobacco	5	weather	100	yet	9
strength	105	told	97	well	8	yolk	34
such	41					yonder	28

# Louisiana State University Studies

- I. THE COMMUNITY PROPERTY SYSTEM OF LOUISIANA WITH COMPARATIVE STUDIES, by Harriet Spiller Daggett, M.A., LL.B., J.S.D.
- II. LAND PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN THE AFRICAN MANDATES OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, by Nick P. Mitchell, Jr., M.A.
- III. THE RECOGNITION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1901, by Taylor Cole, M.A.
- IV. A STUDY IN THE STATE GOVERNMENT OF LOUISIANA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE, AND JUDICIARY DEPARTMENTS AND THE TAXATION SYSTEM, by Melvin Evans, M.A.
- V. LOUISIANA-FRENCH, by William A. Read, Ph.D.
- VI. SOME PHASES OF FAIR VALUE AND INTERSTATE RATES, by James Barclay Smith, LL.B., J.S.D.
- VII. TENURE OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS IN LOUISIANA, by Irving P. Foote, Ph.D.
- VIII. PUBLIC OPINION AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR: A STUDY IN WAR PROPAGANDA, by Marcus M. Wilkerson, Ph.D.
- IX. THE LOUISIANA JUDICIARY, by Ben R. Miller, M.A., LL.B.
- X. A COMPILATION OF LOUISIANA STATUTES AFFECTING CHILD WELFARE AND THE REPORT OF THE LOUISIANA CHILDREN'S CODE COMMITTEE, by Harriet Spiller Daggett, M.A., LL.B., J.S.D.
- XI. FLORIDA PLACE-NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN AND SEMINOLE PERSONAL NAMES, by William A. Read, Ph.D.
- XII. LOUISIANA SABINE EOCENE OSTRACODA, by Henry V. Howe, Ph.D., and Julius B. Garrett, Jr., M.S.
- XIII. GEOLOGY OF IBERIA PARISH, by Henry V. Howe, Ph.D., and Cyril K. Moresi, M.S.
- XIV. FORAMINIFERA OF THE JACKSON EOCENE AT DANVILLE LANDING ON THE OUACHITA, CATAHOULA PARISH, LOUISIANA, by Henry V. Howe, Ph.D., and William E. Wallace, M.S.
- XV. GEOLOGY OF LAFAYETTE AND ST. MARTIN PARISHES, by Henry V. Howe, Ph.D., and Cyril K. Moresi, M.S.
- XVI. ALEXANDER PORTER: WHIG PLANTER OF OLD LOUISIANA, by Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Ph.D.
- XVII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN LOUISIANA, by Roderick L. Carleton, Ph.D.
- XVIII. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FICTION BY LOUISIANIANS AND ON LOUISIANA SUBJECTS, by Lizzie Carter McVoy, B.S., and Ruth Bates Campbell, A.M.
- XIX. A BANKING HISTORY OF LOUISIANA, by Stephen A. Caldwell, Ph.D.
- XX. THE RELATION OF THE ALABAMA-GEORGIA DIALECT TO THE PROVINCIAL DIALECTS OF GREAT BRITAIN, by Cleanth Brooks, Jr., B.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.)
- XXI. DISSOLVED OXYGEN IN BOILER FEEDWATER, by M. C. Schwartz, Ph.D.
- XXII. LEGAL ESSAYS ON FAMILY LAW, by Harriet Spiller Daggett, M.A., LL.B., J.S.D.

*Orders for the Above Should be Addressed to*

**Louisiana State University Press**  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana